

An inquiry
into
the origin and different meanings
of
the English particle "but".

An Inaugural - Dissertation
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G ö t t i n g e n ,

Printed at the University press by W. Fr. Kaestner

1876.



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The aim of this little essay is in the first place to examine, in an etymological point of view, into the origin of the English particle «but»; and in the second to subject the same to three separate and distinct inquiries with respect to its use in the Anglo-Saxon, Old and Modern English.

In the Anglo-Saxon we find the modern »but« under the various forms of *bûtan*, *bûton*, *bûtun*, *bûta* and *bûte*, of which the former two are those most generally met with, »*bûtun*« occurring but seldom and »*bûta*« and »*bûte*« only in the later A. S. (Further particulars with reference to the last two forms will be found pag. 5). These various forms correspond with the O. H. Ger. *bûzân*, O. Sax. *biûtan*, M. D. *bûten*, N. D. *buiten*, N. L. Ger. *bûten*, O. Fries. *buta*, N. Fries. *bowtto*. As for the etymology of »*bûtan*« we shall pass over in silence such opinions as: »But is primarily a participle« (Webster 1828; The imperial Dict. 1854!) or: »But is the imperative of the Sax. *beon utan*«, opinions which do not deserve attention, for it is now generally allowed that »*bûtan*« is compounded out of »*be*« and »*ûtan*«. »*Be*« is an abbreviated form for the A. S. *bi*, *big*, *bí*; it is the Goth. *bi*, O. H. Ger. *pî*, *pi*, O. Sax. *bi*, *bë*, O. Engl. *bi*, *by*, *bie*, *be*, Mod. Engl. *by*. As for its further relation to the other Indo-German languages, Mr. Bopp cites the Sanscrit preposition *à-bhi*, Gr. *-φι*, Lat. *ibi*. — »*Be*« was originally an adverb, denoting

nearness, closeness, although there are no examples of its being thus used in A. S.; some traces however of its being used in this way are to be found in the application of »be« as prefix (*beginnan*, *behaes*). »Be« occurs only as a preposition, generally governing the dative and seldom the accusative, and indeed has very different meanings, (cf. *Ettmüller*, *Lex. A. S.* p. 280; *Grein*, *Bibliothek der Angels. Poesie*, III, 78. 121); but as all prepositions primarily represent local relations and only secondarily and metaphoricly relations of time, cause and mode, we find its original meaning to be: *juxta*.

The second of the elements, from the compounding of which »bûtan« has arisen, is »ûtan« or »ûton«, which is derived from »ûte« or »ût«. According to Mr. Bopp the A. S. »ût« corresponds with the Sanskrit »út« = on, upward; the Gothic form is »ût«, O. H. Ger. *ûz*, *uz*, O. Sax. *ût*, Mod. Engl. *out*, N. H. Ger. *aus*. From the adding of the suffix »a« to »ut« arises the Goth. and O. Sax. »ût-a« = abroad; in A. S. the suffix »a« has been shortened into »e«, »ût-e« (O. H. Ger. »ûze«). But these two words, »ût« and »ûte«, which originally had different meanings, have been already confounded at a very early period and are used in A. S. quite indifferently. We find a striking analogy in the particle »in«; »inn-e« (Goth. *inn-a*) has been formed in the same manner as »ût-e« and was afterwards used in exactly the same sense as the simple »in«. »Ût« or »ûte« is mostly used as adverb of place, = *foras*; f. i. *waes ûte* (*Luc.* 1, 10); *ëodon hig ute* (*Joh.* 8, 9). As preposition it occurs but seldom; I have only found one example: *ûte cyrican* (*Ettm. Lex.* p. 70). A derivative of »ût« or »ûte«, formed by the adjoining of the suffix »an« is »ûtan«. Besides »ûtan« we find the secondary form »ûton«, which is to be explained by a darkening of the

vowel »Ūtan« (ûton), as »ût« (ûto) is generally used as adverb = extrinsecus, f. i. ûtan and innan (Cädm. Gen. 677), seldom as preposition, governing the dative and sometimes the accusative case.

A compound of these two particles »be« and »ûtan« is the A. S. būtan. Besides the three forms above mentioned we find already in the later period of A. S. the forms »bûta« and »bûte«, having the meaning of »bûtan«. Mr. Grimm is of the opinion that these forms are solely abbreviations of »bûtan«. Another explication published in »Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen« VI, 386 by Mr. Piltz is that »bûta« and »bûte« are compounds of »be« and »ûta« (ûte). It is as difficult to bring forward any real proofs against this proposition of Mr. Piltz, as it has proved for that gentleman to bring forward in support of his opinion. Mr. Grimm's explication is however simpler and more natural, and has also been adopted by our modern etymologists, f. i. Mr. Müller in his »Etymologisches Wörterbuch der engl. Sprache«.

I. The use of "bûtan" in A. S.

It results from the very origin of »bûtan« as a contraction of »be-ûtan«, that the original meaning of this particle is »near-outside«, viz. it denotes that something is near another thing, but at the same time, outside it.

«Bûtan» as adverb.

»Bûtan« was originally an adverb of place with the sense of: outside, without, contrary to A. S. binnan = within; but it was as adverb seldom used, »ûtan« being mostly employed: I have only found two examples of »bûtan« being used as adverb. And þær waes ungemet wael geslaegen Nordanhymbra sume binnan, sume būtan (Sax. Chr. 867).

Hë ëode buta (D. Marc. 14, 68). — In passages such as: Aele man ge binnan burgum ge bûtan (Eädg. II, 1) »bûtan« is not to be considered as adverb, but as preposition, the object of which is to be supplied.

“Bûtan” as preposition.

Already at a very early period »bûtan« was used as preposition and originally in accordance with its original local meaning, as local preposition, governing the dative case, with the meaning of the modern preposition »without« in the sense of »outside«, denoting rest as well as movement. Aehta and âgend . . . þâ be-ûtan beóð earce bordum (Cädm. Gen. 1353); Hig vaeron bûtan birig (Aelfr. Gen. 44, 4). (Se gehâlgoda sacerd) forbârne þät celf bûtan þære vicstôve! (Aelfr. Lev. 4, 21). Ic ville, þät . . . nân man ne ceápige bûtan porte (Legg. Eadv. I, 2). — Laedde hine bûtan þâ vic (Marc. 8, 23). Âwurpon hine bûta þære ceastra (D. Luc. 4, 29).

From the idea of being without in a local sense arose the same idea in a figurative sense; therefore »bûtan« denotes an exception of a whole or a general idea and therefore has the meaning of praeter, except, excepting. Ealle bûton ânum (Beov. 705). And âlc þing, þe lif hæfde, veard âdýð, bûton þâm ânum, þe binnan þam arce vaeron (Aelfr. Gen. 7, 23). Eall hira hîvraeden bûtan geongum litlingum and heordum (ib. 50, 8). On þaem waeron eac þa men ofslaegene buton fifum (Sax. Chr. 897). Ymb fyrst vucan bûtan ânre niht (Menol. 87). Him on môð be-arn, þät he . . . volde . . . eall gedaelan . . . svylc him god sealde, bûton folcscafe and feorum gumena (Beov. 67).

When the general idea referred to by »bûtan« stands in the dative case, it is doubtful whether the dative following »bûtan« depends on »bûtan« or on the verb governing the general idea of the principal sentence; f. i. Ne

ic þām sâvlum ne môt aenigum sceddan būtan þām ânum, þe he tô âgen nyle (Cædm. Sat. 145); »þām ânum« depends either on »būtan« used as preposition, or on »sceddan«; in the latter case »būtan« would be used as elliptical conjunction. We have the same case in the following example: Naefre ic aenigum men aer âlÿfde . . . þryðârñ Dena būton þe nu þâ (Beov. 655); Mr. Heyne believes »būton« here to be a preposition, and Mr. Grein a conjunction. We shall have occasion to speak afterwards about this elliptical use of »būtan«. Here we need only remark that it seems almost impossible to decide in each case, whether »būtan« is to be regarded as preposition or as conjunction.

The preposition »būtan« occurs equally in this sense in numerals, where it is used as the Latin »de«; f. i. ymb twentig wintra būtan ân (Beda 5, 19).

From this restricted privative meaning taken together with the original local meaning there arises the general privative meaning »sine«. The transition from the restricted to the general privative meaning is made by the omission of the general idea, an exception of which was originally introduced by »būtan«, and the transition from the local to the general privative meaning is formed by examples such as: Gif hit unvitan aenige hvîle healdað butan hæftum, hit etc. (Sal. and Sat. 410). Instances of the general privative meaning are: Þât vās gevorden butan veres frigum (Crist 37). His lif vās eal būton synnum (A. S. Hom. I, 26). God vās mid us geseven butan synnum (Crist 124). Aer ðam daege butan sunnan and monan and eallum steorrum (Wr. Pop. tr. p. 4). Feoh butan gevitte (Sal. and Sat. 23). Â būton ende (Cædm. Sat. 315). Butan anginne aefre (Crist 111), etc.

This general privative meaning is still transgressed by another of its meanings, where it almost denotes an op-

position. This use, it is true, occurs but seldom. Ellþeó-diges nu butan leódrihte lârum hýrað (Andr. 678).

“Butan” as conjunction.

From the preposition »bûtan« with the original metaphorical meaning »except«, there arises the conjunction »bûtan«, the original meaning of which is the same. This gradual transition of the preposition to the conjunction may be illustrated by the following passages: And eall, þät þe styrað and leofað, beoð eów tô mete, svâ svâ grôvende vyrta ic betaehhte ealle eów, bûton þam ânum, þät ge flaesc mid blôde ne eton (Aelfr. Gen. 9, 3 and 4); »bûtan« in this passage is still the simple preposition, but the whole formula »bûton þam ânum þät« has the character of a conjunctive phrase connecting a whole sentence to the preceding one. A step further in this direction has been made in the following passages: (Þät fär) heá väs âhafen on þâ heán lyft, þâ se êgorhere eorðan tuddor eall âcvealde, bûton þät earce bord heöld heofona freá (Cædm. Gen. 1401). Hit ne maeg tô nâhte, bûton þæt hit sý út-âworpen (Mt. 5, 13). In these two passages the demonstrative pronoun has been omitted, but the conjunction »þät« has been retained; this »bûtan þät« still occurs frequently in A. S. as well as in Old and in Mod. Engl. By omitting as well »þät«, »bûtan« becomes a simple conjunction. Other instances of the same kind of transition of the preposition to the conjunction are to be found with the A. S. *âer*, *aefter*, *biforan* etc.

Also in the following examination of the conjunction »bûtan« do not let us forget that the original meaning of this word is »except« and that, in consequence, the accessory sentence introduced by »bûtan« denotes an exception of the thought expressed by the principal sentence; in almost all its uses the word may be explained from this meaning. We must endeavour to distinguish two kinds of exceptions.

Either the accessory sentence introduced by »bûtan« denotes an exception which is represented as really existing in the present, the past or the future; in other words it really restricts the meaning of the principal sentence. In this case it is natural that »bûtan« should be followed by the mood of reality, viz. the indicative mood. Or the accessory sentence expresses an exception inasmuch as it asserts that there will be an exception concerning the validity of the principal sentence, should the thought expressed by the accessory sentence be realized. In short the accessory sentence is in this case the negative antecedent of a conditional sentence. Therefore it has not the character of reality or a real representation, but of a reflective one; therefore »bûtan« in this case requires the subjunctive mood.

Accordingly, in denoting these two kinds of exceptive sentences we make use of the terms, for the former of: real exceptive sentence, for the latter of: conditional exceptive sentence.

a. The real exceptive sentence.

1. *Affirmative principal sentence.*

Þät väs vaepna cyst, bûton hit väs mare, þonne aenig mon ôðer tô beadulâce ätberan meahte (Beov. 1659) In this instance the subject of the two sentences is the same; the subjects may also be different: Her on þissum geare ealle þa yldestan Angel cynnes witan gefeollan . . of anre upfloran, butan se halgan Dunstan arcebiscop ana aetstood uppon anum beame (Sax. Chr. 978). And ða agangen waes tyn hund wintra geteled rimes . . . buton ðaer to lafe þa agan waes wintergeteles . . . seofon and twentig. — »Bûtan þät« occurs in the passage quoted above: þa se êgorhere eorðan tuddor eall âcvealde, buton þät earce bord heöld heofona freá (Cädm. Gen. 1402).

2. *Negative principal sentence.*

On þissum geare naes nan faereld to Rome buton twegen hleaperes Aelfred cyng sende mid gewritum (Sax. Chr. 889).

We here quote the following passage: Nyston sorga viht tō begornianne, butan heo godes villan lengest laesten (Cādm. Gen. 243). Here »butan« is followed by the subjunctive mood, although the accessory sentence is not the antecedent of a conditional sentence at all. We must rather consider the sentence as a real exceptive one, influenced and modified by the involved subjective reflexion. For the accessory sentence couples itself freely to the substantive »sorga« and the subjunctive mood has been caused by the idea of the activity of mind involved in the word »sorg«.

3. *Interrogative principal sentence.* — No example has occurred to me.

b. The conditional exceptive sentence.

1. *Affirmative principal sentence.*

Ic þāt gesverige þurh . . . þāt þu . . . scealt . . . cvylmed veorðan, butan þu forlaete þā leásunga (Elene 686). . . . Þāt ve tīres vone ā butanende sculon ermðu dreógan, butan þu usic . . . hreddan ville (Crist 270). Nu bið fore þreó niht, þāt he . . . sceal . . . gāst onsendan . . . butan þu aer cyme (Andr. 185). Þa gife ic him Godes curs . . . buton he cume to daedbote (Sax. Chr. 963). Būte ge tō him gecyrren, se deófol cvecð his sveord tō eóv (Ps. 7, 12). Ic hine hrādlice heardan clammum on vālbedde vrīðan þohte, þāt he for mundgripe mīnum scolde liegoan līfbysig, būtan his līc svice (Beov. 963).

2. *Negative principal sentence.*

Ne mæg þāt gōð beón getymbrod būton þāt yfel beó aer tōvorpen (A. S. Hom. I, 144). Ne maeg man þone

strangan his âehta and his fata bereáfian, and on his hūs gān, buton man þane strangan aêrest gebinde (Mrc. 3, 27). Buton þâ dagas gescyrte vaeron, naere nān man hāl gevorden (Math. 24, 22). Būton hvâ beó ednivan gecenned, ne mæg he geseón Godes rīce (Joh. 3, 3). Nāfdest þu nāne mihte ongeán me, būton hyt vaere þe ufan geseald (Joh. 19, 11).

3. *Interrogative principal sentence, with the expectation of an answer in the negative.*

The complete accessory sentence is almost only used, when it refers to the whole principal sentence.

Ac hvaer cymð heó nu, buton þu engla god eft hig âlÿse sâvle of synnum . . . ? (Hym. und Geb. VII, 6). Cvyst þu dēmd ūre ae aenigne man, būton hyne man aer gehyre? (Joh. 7, 51). Hū mæg man in-gān on stranges hūs, and hys fata hyne bereáfjan, būton he gebinde aerest þone strangan? (Math. 12, 29). Hvät mæg ic dōn, būton me god vīsigē? (Aelfr. Gen. 41, 16).

In conditional exceptive sentences »būtan þāt« occasionally occurring in real exceptive ones, is not met with.

When the accessory sentence refers only to the interrogative pronoun, the elliptical „būtan“ is mostly made use of, which we are now about to speak of.

c. The elliptical use of “būtan”.

Instead of being employed in a complete accessory sentence, »būtan« may be used also in an elliptical one; when the verb of the accessory sentence is the same as in the principal one, it can be omitted in the former, to spare its repetition.

It is evident that this elliptical use is admitted in the same cases as in complete sentences, viz.

1. *After affirmative principal sentences.*

Þonne ic vāt þätte vile voruldmēn tveógan geond fol-dan sceát buton feá āne (Aelfr. Metra IV, 51)

2. *After negative principal sentences.*

He . . . secgan hýrde . . . vîde sîðas, þāra þe gumena bearn gearve ne viston faehðe and fyrene, būton Fitela mid hine (Beov. 875). Þāt ne vāt aenig monna cynnes buton meotod āna (Phoen. 357). Nān man nāt, būton faeder āna (Joh. 13, 22). And swa ic hit freo þet nan biscop ne haue þaer nane haese, buton se abbot of þone minstre (Sax. Chr. 963). Nys hēr nān þing būton godes hūs (Aelfr. Gen. 28, 17). Þis naefre þurh aeniges mannes mūð gehýrdon hāledum cýðan butan her nu þā (Elene 659). And heora nan naefð naenne leoman buton of ðaere sunnan leoman (Wr. Pop. tr. 3). Naefre buton on niwum mouan (ib. 6). Ne nan mann ne nyten nafð nane orðunge buton þurh þaet lyft (ib. 17). Ne nom he . . . mād̃m-aehta mā . . . būton þone hafelan (Beov. 1612). — The use of »būtan« after a comparative in a negative sentence, as in the preceding passage is to be explained from the prevailing of the negative over the comparative, the elliptical sentence not being annexed to the comparative, but to the whole negative sentence. In the same manner the use of »būtan« after negative or negatively interrogative sentences with »oþer« can be explained. The negative sense prevails: thence the use of »būtan«: Cvîst þu, mäg ic ôðre spreca, būton pāt drihten hêt? (Aelfr. Num. 23, 12). Þonne beó þaer nān ôðre būton pāt he gange tō þam þryfealdan ordāle (Legg. Cnut. I, B. 27). — We here remark that in A. S. we find »oder« followed either by »būtan« or »nymþe«, but not by »þonne«, as in Mod. Engl. »than«. In Latin negative comparatives are never followed by »nisi«. After »alius« with a negative, the Latin has either »nisi« f. i. Erat historia nihil aliud nisi annalium confectio (Cic. de orat. 2, 12, 52) or answering to the »than« of Old and Mod. Engl. »quam«

f. i. Virtus nihil aliud est quam in se perfecta natura (Cic. Leg. 1, 8, 25).

This use has extended itself also to »elles«, representing like »oðer« a comparative difference: Hvâ ârist elles of Sion bûtan þu? (Ps. 13, 11).

3. *After interrogative sentences, when an answer in the negative is expected.*

Hvât sindan þâ gimmas svâ scyne buton god sylfa? (Crist 694). Hvylc is mihtig god butan ure se maera god? (Ps. 76, 11). Hvât is hiora here buton se hlîsa ân? (Aelfr. Metra X, 54).

The above mentioned case deserves especial attention, when »bûtan« refers to a dative of the principal sentence. We here consider this peculiar case without regard to the nature of the principal sentence. Se is äthvâm freónd . . butan dracan ânum (Panth. 15). Naefre ic aenegum men aer âlþfde . . þryðärn Dena bûton þe nu þâ (Beov. 655). Þu me . . vordum naegest, fûsne frígnest, þäs þe ic furðum aer aefre in ealdre aengum ne volde monna ofer molðan melda veorðan þegne on þeóde, butan þe nu þâ (Guthl. 1200). He . . . nele lâðes viht aengum geäfnan bûtan þam ättorsceaðan (Panth. 31). Ne ic þâm sâvlum ne môt aenigum scedðan butan þâm ânum, þe etc. (Satan 145). — Svâ is dryhten god dreáma raedend eallum eáðmêðum ôðrum gesceaftum, butan dracan ânum (Panth. 55). These passages illustrate the difficulty of determining whether »bûtan« is to be regarded as preposition or as conjunction. It seems even impossible to determine this in each case. But from the inner nature of the word there seems to result the general rule, that in affirmative sentences with the idea of generality »bûtan« is mostly to be regarded as preposition; that in negative sentences however it is to be taken as conjunction. We have ventured to give the latter part of

this rule, no example having occurred to us of »bûtan« being followed in a negative sentence by a substantive, which can be distinguished by its inflective form as a dative, and can only depend on »bûtan«, used as preposition. Instances, it is true, such as: Nys oðer buton him (Mrc. 12, 32) are of occasional occurrence, in which at first sight »bûtan« seems to be used as preposition, since the pronoun would otherwise be in the nominative. Let us however remember that the change of the objective cases of the personal pronouns with the nominative is already found in A. S.; f. i. he is strengra þon mēc (Math. 3, 11), so that instances such as that mentioned above, are wanting in confirmatory power.

The conjunction »bûtan« is likewise found, although seldom in affirmative general sentences, f. i. Ic vāt þätte vile voruldmēn tveógan geond foldan sceát buton feá âne (Aelfr. Metra IV, 51), where, as it results from »bûton feá âne« »voruldmēn« is to be taken in the sense of »ealle voruldmēn«.

Lastly we have to mention the case when »bûtan« is followed by another conjunction (except »þät« in the usual combination »bûtan þät«); this is a simple contraction of two accessory sentences. Fägerre leóht þonne ve aefre aer eágum gesâvon, buton þâ ve mid englum uppe vaeron (Cädm. Satan 389). Svylce eác vîde cûð ymb þreó and tvâ þeódum gevelhvaer his cymê Kalend ceorlum and eorlum butan þanne bises geboden veorðe feórdan geâre (Menol. 29). Similar is the passage: Hvät magon we secgean bûton þät hî scotedon svîðe? (Sax. Chr. 1083), where »þät« introduces the objective sentence, depending on »secgean«. In the passage: Þeóf ne cymð bûton þät he stele (Joh. 10, 10) »þät« serves to introduce an accessory sentence expressing intention.

II. The use of "but" in Old Engl.

We will now consider the use of our particle in the O. Engl. period. »We comprehend the whole period from about the end of the 12th century down to the close of the Middle Ages or to the Elizabethan age by the name of Old Engl.« (Mätzner, Eng. Gr. 2nd edition I, p. 7). We have not admitted of the subdivision of this period into the so called Semi-Saxon or New-Anglo-Saxon and Middle English stages, for as to the former, »although here the gradual blending and blotting out of the inflective forms of declension and conjugation, the phonetic change, the attenuation of the words, the gradually increasing first admission and assimilation of French words etc. become visible, yet the transition to the later period is nevertheless not such a decided one, nor so dependent on new momenta, that we could believe an exactly limited separation of the so called Semi-Saxon to be admissible« (ib.). And as for the so called Middle English »it is to be taken into consideration that a great change of the English with regard to its grammatical forms has not indeed taken place at the middle of the 14th century« (ib. p. 8).

Our particle occurs in the different stages of this period and in the different dialects under very different forms: butan, buton, buten, bouten, boten, beoten, bute, bout, bote, but, bout, bot; but as to the first syllable the differences of these forms are for the most part only graphical ones.

"But" as adverb.

»But« as adverb, already rarely found in A. S., as we have seen, has been almost totally suppressed in Old Engl. There are only very few examples of its use in this way. Hit was swuþe mouchel scome . . . þat scholde a quene beon king in þisse londe, and heora sunen beon buten

(Lay. I, 159). The signe hiis that hys bouthe ydo, That thynges hys grace bynne (Shoreh. p. 40).

“But” as preposition.

As preposition »but« has been restricted in O. Engl. It does not exist any longer in the local meaning, but only in the metaphorical one, taken in its restricted and totally privative signification. As for the former it is still more difficult in this period of the vanishing of the inflective forms to determine, whether »but« is to be considered as preposition or as elliptical conjunction. The general principle, established in the above inquiry, is also here of validity: After affirmative sentences implying the idea of generality, »but« is mostly to be taken as preposition; so in the following sentences. *Þe al her aquelde . . . buten Noe and Sem* (Lay. I, 2). *Alle he heom sumunde and to wode sende, bote seoue þusend kempen* (ib. I, 19). *Euch sunne . . . is wiðute þe bodi bute þis ane* (Hali meidenh. p. 35). *Alle bute Gogmagog* (Rob. of Gl. p. 22). *He ys knyghtes echone for cost bynyme hym alle, bute a fyue men one* (ib. p. 33). *All shal be fordone that lif in land bot ye* (Town. Myst. p. 23).

After negative sentences »but« is always to be regarded as conjunction = *nisi*. Instances such as: *nat tah na mon bute ham self hwat ham sticheð ofte* (Hali meidenh. p. 9) are to be explained in the same manner as in A. S., the change of the objective cases with the nominative likewise occurring in O. E., f. i. *þe biscopp self þaer shollde cumenn o þe zer ann siþe, all himm ane* (Orm. 1025); *þer restid þam doun* (P. Langt. 1896).

That however, whenever »but« follows an affirmative sentence implying generality it may not be concluded that »but« is to be considered as proposition, is proved by the

occurring of the word as conjunction in this case; f. i. He saide alle shalle be slayn bot oonely we (Town. Myst. p. 28), although indeed the change of the nominative with the accusative is likewise occasionally met with in O. Engl.

In its totally privative meaning we very often find »but« in the earlier stage of O. E. We choose a few instances out of the great number. Buten anne sunne (Lay. I, 5). Bute bruche (H. meidenh. p. 11). Buten reowde (S. Marh. p. 6). Buten vit (ib.). Buten rest (ib. p. 9). Bute anne craft (Owl and N. 792). Butenn rihht rewwsunge (Orm. 9882). Butenn spaeche (ib. H. 222). Bûten lîve (Kath. 252). Bouten ende (Wr. Pop. tr. p. 132). Bout blame (Syr. Gaw. I, 11, 361). Boute hone (ib. 1285). Boute spyt more (ib. 1444). Boute blame (Morris, Allit. P. A. 621).

In the later stage of this period »but« is much less used in this meaning; it is supplied by »withouten«. It however entirely dissappears only at the end of this period.

Here the combination »ðor buten« twice occurring in »The story of Genesis and Exodus« 566 and 3625, is to be made mention of; at least I have not found it anywhere else. In those passages »ðor buten« means »thereabout«, »buten« being only a shortening of »abuten«, in the same manner as in that text »gen« occurs instead of »agen« and »mong« instead of »among«.

“But” as conjunction.

a. The real exceptive sentence.

In these the use of »but«, »but that« is not frequent as we have already seen in A. S.; other conjunctions being generally made use of.

1. *Affirmative principal sentence.*

Forr himm birrp beon full clene mann, and all wiþþutenn

ahhte, Butan þatt nann himm findenn shall Unnorne mete and waede (Orm. 6334). Hit wes him swiðe iqueme and alle his beornen, bute Conaan wes swiðe wraeð (Lay. 11612). Alle dronken of þe beer, Bute horn alone Nadde þerof no mone (King Horn 1112). Þu art hire ilich of alle þinge . . . But þu ert a man and heo a maide (Fl. and Bl. 52). He was þe noblest, bote þat he Cristene nas (Rob. of Gl. 1611).

2. *Negative principal sentence.*

The cat ne kan wrench bute anne, Nother be dune ne bi venne; Bute he can climbe suthe wel (Owl and N. 429). God doth not but tretith us (Serm. ag. M. P., Spp.¹) I, b, 231). Thou dost nought elles but dispendest time (Ch. C. T. 13859).

Thence arises the use of »but« in such cases as in Syr Gaw., ed. Madden, p. 207, 11: He had not taryed with her longe, But there came a knyght tall and stronge. — Here »but« denotes an exceptive relation only inasmuch as the sentence introduced by »but« expresses an action that breaks in upon the action expressed in the preceding sentence; it assimilates itself somewhat to the meaning of the Latin »quin«. However in O. E. this use is still very rare.

3. *Interrogative principal sentence.* — No instance has occurred to me.

b. *The conditional exceptive sentence.*

To »bûtan« and »bûtan þät« of the A. S. there have been added in O. E. »but if« and »but if that«. The former is to be explained elliptically, the latter by a double ellipsis = except if it happens that«. »But« and »but if« are most frequently met with and seem in most of the texts to be used to the same extent together, although some writers have a predilection for one or the other of these particles, Orm f. i. for »but if«.

1) Spp. = Mätzner, Altenglische Sprachproben.

1. *Affirmative principal sentence.*

a. "But".

þu aert al dead, buten þou do mine read (Lay. I, 30). Bute ich veorri a wið the riht vise of the unselic sun fule me thunched ich am al siker (S. Marh. p. 13). ziff þu takesst twizzess an Annd ekesst itt till fowwre, þu finndest, butt an wunnderr be, þe fulle tale off sexe (Orm. 16352). Hit reaueð ham þe hehe riche of heuene bute ha poure beon (H. Meid. p. 31). To-morgen, bute he mugen vt-pharen, Egyptes erf sal al forfaren (Gen. and Ex. 3018). And zet beoð hire word put, buten heo beo þe bet biset (Aner. R. p. 58). Elch man þe hem doð, bute he hem forlete, and bete ar his ende dai, he sal forlesen eche liht (Serm. Spp. I, b, 50). Ich hire love, hit mot me spille, Bot ich gete hire to mi wille (Dame Siriz, Spp. I, a, 110). Thine lif-dayes beth al a-go, Bote thou bi mine rede do (Vox and Wolf, Spp. I, a, 133). Plente me may in Engelond of al gode yse, Bute fole yt forgulte (R. of Gl. I, 1). Bote y he þerof awreke, y schall dye for sore (ib. I, 18). Bote he dude by tyme, he wolde sende hym oper tyþyng (ib. II, 357). Bute he him zeue leue He wule him boþe bete and reue (Fl. and Bl. 245). Wel sone, bute þu flitte, Wip swerde ihc þe anhitte (K. Horn 711). Bote þise vour benes of him we ne habbe, we byeþ dyade (Ayenb. p. 110); (as for »bote . . . ne«, see below). Bute holy chirche and hii Holde bettre togidres, The moste meschief on molde Is mountynge wel faste (P. Ploughm. 131). Suche fruyt, thorghe the whiche every man is saved, but it be his owne defeaute (Maundev. p. 3). Treuely, treuely, I seye to 3ou, no but the corne of wheet fallynge into the erthe schal be deade, it dwellith alone (Wycl. John 12, 24). (We afterwards shall have occasion to speak about this »no but«, which often occurs in Wycliffe's translation). I pray to

God that I mot sterve wood, But I be to yow al so good
and trewe, As ever was wyf (Ch. C. T. 6824). But I be
to morrow as fair to seen As eny lady, emperesse, or
queen, . . . Doth by my lyf right even as yow lest (ib.
6827). But I in other wise may be wrecke, I schal defame
him over al (ib. 7793). Bot thou do, bi this day, Thi hede
schalle I breke (Town. Myst. p. 30).

b. "but that."

Freoliche þas twein brotherne heolden þas eorldomes,
buten þat heo icneowen þone king fore heore herre (Lay.
I, 306). He wolde al þis kine-lond setten on heore hond,
bute þat hi icleoped weore king of þan londe (ib. III, 253).
Myn handwerk to sle sore grevyth me, But that here synne
here deth doth brewe (Cov. Myst. p. 43). Forthwyth there
I had hym slayne But that I drede mordre wolde come
oute (Skelton I, 50). The knight . . . schuld have lost his
heed . . . But that the queen and other ladies mo So longe
preyeden thay the kyng of grace, Til he his lif hath graunt-
ed in the place (Ch. C. T. 6474).

Instead of »but that« we also find »but what« in the
later stage. More coude I saye, but what this is ynowe
(Skelton I, 48). The explanation of this idiom is difficult.
Mr. Koch is of the opinion, that perhaps »but what« has been
put instead of »but that that«. I am not able to give a
better explanation.

In the two last passages, the sequence of tenses is
different from the ordinary one, taking place in conditional
sentences implying irreality; this anomalous sequence of
tenses serves to emphasize the reality of the antecedent
that prevents the realization of the consequent. »But
that« answers complety to the Latin »nisi quod« and the
German »nur daß«; cf. et fecisset, nisi quod felicius ju-
cundiusque est (Plin. paneg. 86, 5).

c. "but if".

He slaþ hiss azhenn sawle Butt iff he muzhe betenn itt (Orm. 4439). Þu best forrworppennu att te dom, Butt iff þūt muzhe betenn (ib. 9077), ib. 10035; 17751. Bute yef þu svike ham, mi sveord schal uorsvelten . . . þi flesch (S. Marh. p. 5). Iðen ilke huse oðer þer he muwe iseon touward ou, sitte þe þridde, bute zif þe ilke þridde oðer stunde trukie (Anc. Riwele, p. 68). Euerich urideie of ðe yer holdeð silence, bute zif hit beo duble feste (ib. p. 70). ib. p. 344. Þat feorðe (werc of þesternesse) is unrihte lue, þat is hordom, and midliggunge þe men drigen bitwenen hem, bute yef he ben lageliche bispusede, þat is unriht (Sermons, Spp. I, b, 50). Bote if hoe wende hire mod, For serewe mon ich wakese wod, Other miselve quelle (D. Siriz, Spp. I, a, 108). Leue askede (iacob) hem hom to faren Wið wiues and childre ðeden charen, But if laban him ðelde bet His seruise (Gen. and Exod. 1711), In euerile welle, in euerile trike, men funden blod al witterlike, But-if it were in ðe land of gersen (ib. 2947). Þe wone . . . may wel wende to zenne dyadliche, bote yef he him ne loki (Ayenb. p. 6). He wyle by mayster ope God, zuo þet al þet God deþ ine erþe bote yef he hit ne do al to his wylle, an haste he grocheþ aye God (ib. p. 68). The two last instances are remarkable, because »bote yef« is accompanied by the negative »ne«. This strengthening is often met with in the »Ayenbite«, also after »bote«. The negative »ne« is a doubling of the negative already expressed by the exceptive particle. The cause of this use is the desire of emphasis and the doubling of a negative is an idiom quite common in O. Engl. (cf. also below under: negative principal sentence). — Other instances of the use of »but if«: Þe affeccyone of lufe es tendir, and lyghtly will vanysche awaye, bot if it be wele kepide and by gud

dedis bodyly or gastely contenually nuresched (Rolle de Hamp. Spp. I, b, 142). Ib. I, b, 130. And wyte zee wel, that a man oughte to take gode kepe for to bye bawme, but zif he cone knowe it righte wel (Maundev. p. 51). And thanne schalle every man have aftir his dissert, outhir gode or evylle, but zif the mercy of God passe his rightewisnesse (ib. p. 115). I-wis but if I have my wille For derne love of the, lemman, I spille (Chauc. C. T. 3277). Woo was his cook, but if his sauce were Poynaunt and scharp, and redy al his gere (Chauc. C. T. 351). Muche wonder me thinketh But if many a preest beere . . . A peire of bedes in hir hand (P. Ploughm. p. 302). The prynce, whose mynd in tender youth infect, shal redily fal to mischief and riot . . ., but if grace turn him to wisdom (Th. More, Description of Richard III., in »Five centuries of Engl. lang. and lit.« p. 116).

d. "but if that".

He muñde þaer Tobrisenn all himm sellfenn, Butt iff þatt God him hulle þaer (Orm. 12031). Ib. 12195. He ne may nazt ine guode manere ofhealde þet he wynþ, ac ssel hit yeue uor Godes loue, bote yef þet hit by ine zuyche manere þet he hit hedde mid barat (Ayenbite, p. 46). I am but ded but if that I can sayn What thing is it that wommen most desire (Chauc. C. T. 6588). Rut if that the woman were, This worldes joie were away (Gower, ed. Pauli 576). But yf þat god wolle graunte grace, y schalle rehercy in þis place Alle þe kynges (Arthur 637).

Remarkable is the use of »bote on that« for the introduction of a conditional sentence in the following passage: Dame, God the for-zelde, Bote on that thou me nout bimelede, Ne make the wroth, Min hernde willi to the bede (Dame Siriz, Spp. I, a, 106); »on that« seems to be used here in a similar way as expressions such as »on condition that«.

2. *Negative principal sentence.*

a. "but".

It is used either as the Latin «nisi» or passing more or less completely into the meaning of the Latin »quin«.

Ne mihte hit iwurden þat Bruttes ne musten reosen buten heo raed haneden (Lay. III, 63). Naem ich naeuere bute care, buten ich ligge faste biclused iune castle (ib. II, 167). I segge þe þatt niss nan man onn erþe þatt muzhe Godess riche sen Butt he be borenn twizess (Orm. 16632). Wel ofte ich sike and sorwe make, ne mai ich nevere blin-nen, Bote thu, thruh thin milde mod bringe me out of sunne (Hymns, Spp. I, a, 54). Nullich þet no mon iseo ou bute he habbe leaue speciale of ower meistre (Ancr. Riwe, p. 56). Bot ze nul, god nel zou spare (Ten Com-mand. Spp. 1. a, 129). — The last instance has the same addition in strength of »but« by a negative that we have already fonnd in the »Ayenbite« and that is of occasional occurrence also in other texts. — Hy ne miztte non len-gour libe, Bote here heddre were i-take. (The Vox and the Wolf; Spp. I, a, 133). Therefore me sizth nozt such thing, bote hit beo in hete (Wr. Pop. treat. p. 135). He ne schulde mid hire be, bute it one were (Rob. of Gl. p. 33). Ac ne mot þer non ben inne þat one þe breche bereþ þe ginne, Noþer bi daie ne biuizt, Bute he also ca-pun beo idizt (Fl. and Bl. 257). To strech in þe strete þou hatz no vygour, Bot þou wer clene with outen mote (E. Engl. All. Poems, A. 970). He ne may efterward wonye mid hire, bote hy hit ne bidde beuore (Ayenb. p. 49). Vor non ne may him wel ssriue ne him loki uram zenne, bote he his ne knawe (ib. p. 70). So that no man wolde trowe the richesse of the palays, but he had seen it (Maundev. p. 188). Lent nevere was lif, But liflode were shapen (P. Ploughm. p. 275). But it were thorough the God of Love,

I knew not elles to my bihove That . . . (Chaucer, *Rom. of the Rose*, 2961).

In Wycliffe's translation of the Bible we meet often with »no but« instead of the simple »but«. This peculiarity occurs mostly after negative principal sentences; in which case the »no« preceding »but« serves to repeat emphatically or, when the accessory sentence precedes the principal one, to point to the negative character of the principal sentence. In this case the use of the pleonastic »no« is to be approved or at least not to be blamed; f. i. Sothli no man may do thes signes that thou dost, no but God were with him (Wycl. John 3, 2). No but zee schulen se tokenes and grete wondris, zee bileuen not (ib. 4, 48). — But when »no but« is at the same time made use of, to render the Latin »nisi« after affirmative sentences, this is an extremely arbitrary proceeding; f. i. No but the corne . . . schal be deade, it dwellith alone (ib. 12, 24).

That »no but« is found also in interrogative sentences expecting an answer in the negative, is natural; f. i. Wher our lawe demeth a man, no but firste it haue herde of hym (John 7, 51). Who may forgyve synnes, no but God alone? (Luke 5, 21).

In the same manner Wycliffe makes use of »no but zif«, which however occurs only in negative sentences; f. i. No but zif zoure rigtwisnesse shal be more plenteuouse than of scribis and Pharisees, zee shulen not entre into kyngdam of heuenes (Matth. 5, 20).

»But« is also joined to a negative sentence in that manner that a substantive of the principal sentence is not repeated as the subject of the accessory sentence, which, therefore, appears as a substitute of an adjective sentence.

Ther is no man but hens must wende (Cov. Myst. p. 232).

This omission perhaps arose from a reluctance to repeat a word that immediately precedes the accessory sentence, even under the form of a pronoun. This omission however is not found in the earlier stage of the period, but only in the later stage and even here very rarely.

Joined to a negative principal sentence in which occurs the adverb »so«, denoting a degree, the accessory sentence, expressing the effect of the negative degree, may be introduced by »but«; which corresponds here to the Latin »quin« referring to »tam«.

My sorwe was nevyr so grett, but now my joy is more (Cov. Myst. p. 76).

b. "but that".

It is used in almost the same manner as »but«, only it occurs more seldom.

»But that« corresponds to the Latin »nisi« and »quin«. — Bote that thou me Wilekin bringe, Ne mai I never lawe ne singe (Dame Siriz, Spp. I. a, 113). No straungere comethe before him, but that he makethe him sum promys and graunt (Maundev. p. 40). No man schalle come before no prynce, but that he be bettre (ib. p. 40). There nys no table, but that it is worthe an huge tresour of gode (ib. p. 218). Salle non finde encheson þorgh quaintise to say, Bot þat ze be alle boun with me to wende þat way (Langt. II, 291). Ther xal be neyther kayser nere kyunge, But that I xal hem down dyng (Cov. Myst. p. 183).

»But that« never occurs without a subject.

»But that« expresses the effect of the negative degree. — That feld is not so well closed, but that men may entren at here owne list (Maundev. p. 50). And men may not make the hole ne the cave, where it is taken out of the erthe, so depe ne so wyde, but that it is, at the zeres ende, fulle agen up to the sydes, thorgh the grace of God (ib. p. 67).

c. "but if".

It is most frequently met with. — Þat ne bið he bi-wuune þurh naues cunnes monnen, bute zif hunger cumen þer an under (Lay. II, 358). Nan ne sholde wurrþenn þa sett to wurrþenn prest, butt iff He prestess sune waere (Orm. 492). Nexst fleshe ne schal mon werien no linene cloð, bute zif hit beo of herde and of greate heorden (Ancr. Riwe p. 418). Mai he no leue at hire taken but-if he it mai wið crafte maken (Gen. and Exod. 2697). Bote yef ich ne hedde þe uirtue of charite, al hit nere me nazt worth (Ayenb. p. 89). Before the soudan comethe no strangier but zif he be clothed in clothe of gold (Maundev. p. 39). No man may zeven covenable medicyne, but zif he knowe the qualitee of the dede (ib. p. 120). [In Maundeville »but zif« frequently occurs in the phrase »bute zif it be«, used instead of the elliptical »but«; f. i. They have no watre, but zif it be of that flood of that ryvere (p. 45).] Na-moore myghe God be man, But if he moder hadde (P. Ploughm. p. 343). Sothely no man may do thes signes that thou doist, but zif God were with hym (Wycl. John 3, 2, earlier text; Spp. I, b, 255). Whan that thay (heihe toures and grete edifices) ben accomplised, yit beth thay nought worth a straw, but if they be defended by trewe frendes (Ch. Melib. Spp. I, b, 395).

d. "but if that".

Forr niss nan mann þatt wirrkenn mazz þa tacness þatt tu wirrkesst, Butt iff þatt Drihhtinn be wiþþ himm (Orm. 16626); ib. 17950. Nu nis no squier of pris in this middel erd But if that he bere a babel and a long berd (Wr. Polit. S. p. 335). No man . . . Schal not supplante othur securly But zef that hyt be so y-wrozth, That hyt turne the werke to nozth (Halliw. Freemas. 204). No man

schalle neyghe the charyot, but only tho lordes, but ȝif that the emperour calle ony man to him (Maundev. p. 241).

3. *Interrogative principal sentence*, with the expectation of an answer in the negative.

How man, but he were maad of stele, Myghte liue a monthe suche peynes to fele? (Chauc. Rom. of R. 2733). — Whate are all thi werkes worthe, whethire pay be bodyly or gastely, bot if thay be done ryghtefully . . .? (Rolle de Hamp. p. 27). Hov schulde þou com to his kyth bot-if pou clene were? (E. Engl. All. P. p. 71).

c. The elliptical use of "but".

1. "*But*" with reference to affirmative principal sentences. — ȝe schulen eten urom ester uort þet þe holi rode dei, þe latere, þet is ine heruest, everiche deie twie, bute uridawes and umbridawes (Aner. Riwe p. 412). So blac is al the mone of him silve i-wis, Bote ther as the sonne schyneth (Wr. Pop. treat. p. 133). Ich beleue ine Yesu Crist, oure lhord, Godes zone, þe uader, in alle þinges þet belongeþ to þe godhede, an is onlepi þing mid þe uader, bote of þe persone þet is oþer þanne þe persone of þe uader (Ayenb. p. 12). All shall be fordone that lif in land bot ye (Town. Myst. p. 23). He saide alle shalle be slayn bot oonely we (ib. p. 28).

Here we have to mention the phrase »but for«. It already occurs at an early period. Hit likede wel þan kinge buten for ane þinge (Lay. III, 264). Here »buten« and »for« are still efficient each in its own full power, the latter serving to introduce an object considered as the cause of something and the former introducing an exception to what precedes: It well pleased the king, except (it did not well please him) for (because of) one thing. — Quite different is the use of »but for« in the later stage. In pes

thou myth be for me, Bot for thi pepyl of this londe (Cov. Myst. p. 312). Nay I myself wold kylle hym Bot for sir Pylate (Town. Myst. p. 207). By Goddis woundes, but for dysplesaunce, Of my querell soone wolde I venged be (Skelton I, 43). Here the verb of the principal sentence cannot be supplied after »but«; »but for« has become here a formula, serving to introduce an object that has got an exceptive character by »but« as the cause, by which the realization of an intended action has been hindered or checked; it therefore means »were it not for«, »without«, »when such a one or such a thing were not«.

2. "*But*" with reference to negative principal sentences. —

þat swote song . . . þat nane halwes ne mahen bute meidenes ane singen in heuene (H. Meidenh. p. 19). For nab-bich bute hire ane (S. Marh. p. 6). Nis þer bote nan, bute fleon þenne (ib. p. 15). Nu nabbe we of þan londe buten þene west ende (Lay. III, 273). The other ne can sweng but anne (Owl and Night. p. 28). Ne ouwe ze (speken) buten et þeos two þurles (Aner. Riwe p. 68). Non but non (Gen. and Exod. 3488). þi felle wiþ-oute nis bot a sakke (Spp. I, a, 116, a sarmun). I nabbe don her nout bote goed (Vox and Wolf, Spp. I, a, 133). Therefore bote after hete me ne schal no thundre i-seo ne hure (Wr. Pop. treat. p. 135). He ne kepte bute hire one (R. of Gl. p. 32). Wyn nelle ihe Muche ne lite Bute of cuppe white (K. Horn 1131). þou ne sselt habbe god bote me . . . and þou ne sselt do þine hope bote ine me (Ayenb. p. 5). A saule may noghte here it bot by rauyschyng in lufe (Rolle de Hamp. p. 16). There it reyneth not but litylle in that contree (Maundev. p. 45). There is non but on in alle the world (ib. p. 48). He cometh noght but ofte (P. Ploughm. p. 309). No man may be convertid to God but onely by the earnestful doyinge of God (Serm. ag. Miracle-plays, Spp.

I, b, 232). Jhesu baptiside not, but his disciplis (Wycl. John 4, 2). Than wolde he speke no word but Latyn. (Chauc. C. T. 638). Ther nas but hevynes and mochil sorwe (ib. 6661).

As in complete accessory sentences, also in the elliptical use of »but« with a preceding negative Wycliffe has the peculiarity that he often emphatically repeats the negative before »but«; f. i. And no man styeth into heuene, no but he that cam doun fro heuene (John 3, 13). But this peculiarity as well as that quoted above is not met with in all manuscripts.

The Anglo-Saxon use of »but« instead of »than« after comparatives in a negative or in an interrogative sentence implying a negative sense, has maintained itself in O. Engl. — What woldest þou more of hym, bute þat he þe truage bere (R. of Gl. I, 58). He ne couthe no beterydyght, Bote out of lond stal by nyht (Alis 117). And there were wont to ben 5 soudans, but now there is no mo but he of Egypt (Maundev. p. 36). There is no mo briddes of that kynde in alle the world, but it allone (ib. p. 48). — Remarkable is the following passage, in which »but« and »als« occur together: Richer kyng is non in þis world bot ge, No valianter of bon in Cristendam als he (Langt. I, 144).

Also the Anglo-Saxon use of »but« after »other« and »elles« in a negative sentence has maintained itself in O. E. — Ha nawiht ne þarf of oðer þing þenchen bute an of hire leofmon wið treowe luue cwemen (H. Meidenh. p. 5). Heo naueð oðer zeld buten hire suluen (Ancr. Riwle p. 58) ib. p. 84. For wille ich the love, ne non other, Bote mi wedde houssebonde (Dame Siriz, Spp. 1, a, 108). Ne makede his Moder non oþer chere Bute also he were ileid on bere (Fl. and Bl. 13). Cani do non othir dede Bot

my pater noster and my crede (Rel. ant. I, 146). Thou xalt have . . . , Noon other God but the kyng of blysse (Cov. Myst. p. 60). — Off nan þing elless niss þe nohht Butt off þatt an þing ane (Orm. 7983) ib. 8263. Þis name Jhesu es noghte ells for to say one Ynglishe bot heler or hele (Rolle de Hamp. p. 43). Þe name of Jhesu es noghte elles bot þis gastely hele (ib. p. 44). Saynt Bernard says . . . þat »man here is nathyng elles, Bot a foule slyme . . .« (Rolle de Hamp. Pricke of Consc. 362). Goddes hous, that ys y-mad for nothing ellus But for to pray yn (Halliw. Freemas. 498).

From »but« with a preceding negative with the restrictive meaning »only«, above spoken of, there arises the isolated »but« with the same meaning. It is already found at an early stage of the period. — »Mid how mony knyghtes ys he come?« þe oper azeyn seyde, »Madame, bute mid o mon . . .« (R. of Gl. p. 35). Hit arn aboute on þis bench bot berdlez chylder (Sir Gawayne 280). I may bot mourne (ib. 1795). Þat dotz bot þrych my hert þrange, My breste in bale bot bolne and bele (E. Engl. All. P. p. 1). I am bot mol (ib. p. 12). A nakede mynde or a nakede ymagynacione of Jhesu . . . es bot a blyndnes (Rolle de Hamp. p. 19). Luke after na noþer bodily swetnes . . . , charge it bot a lytill (ib. p. 33). Lewed men ne koude Jangle ne jugge, That justifie hem sholde But suffren and serven (P. Ploughm. p. 8). That thow tellest . . . Is but a tale of Waltrot (P. Ploughm. p. 377). Worthi men, that conne Latyn but litylle (Maundev. p. 5). It is but two journeyes in largenesse (ib. p. 46). In Egypt there ben but fewe forcelettes or castelles (ib. p. 47). We dy but oones (Town. Myst. p. 265). Of those that welle has wrought Fynd I bot a fone (ib. p. 22). The wepyng and the fleyschly devocion in hem ben but as strokis of han hamer on every side

(Serm. ag. Mir. Pl. Spp. I, b, 242). His studie was but litel on the Bible (Ch, C. T. 438). Ye hold him but a knave (Ch. C. T. 6772).

The use of »but« with a preceding negative is extended in O. E. in such a manner that one of the verbs generally used as auxiliaries, is employed in the principal sentence with an object, therefore as a principal verb, in the accessory sentence however is to be supplied as an auxiliary verb. — »Hule, thu axest me«, ho seide, »zif ich kon eni other dede, Bute singen in sume tide . . .« (Owl and Night. Spp. I, a, 41). And thei ne recchen of no thing, ne don not but chacen aftre bestes (Maundev. p. 64).

Then the general idea represented by the object of the verb of the principal sentence (in the above instances: »any other dede« and »not« = nought) is omitted. — Ich . . . ne do bute nempnie ham (Rel. Ant. I, 67).

Quite different is the case in the phrase »cannot but«; for »Ich ne do bute nempnie ham« means: I only name her; »þe hen . . . ne con buten kakelen« (Ancr. Riwe p. 66) however does not mean: The hen can only cackle, but: the hen must needs cackle, An exact grammatical explanation of this idiom seems to be impossible. For when perhaps it would be said that out of »cannot« a verb such as »must« should be taken and supplied as verb of the elliptical »but«, this would be only a signification of the meaning of the phrase, but not an explanation. Either we may say that there exists a more inexact and vague relation of the infinitive to the verb »cannot«, such as we have in similar cases in German; f. i. Ich kann Nichts thun, als meinem Sohne Geld schicken. Or it may be said that the phrase »cannot but« with the infinitive is a blending of two Latin constructions: Non possum eum non admirari, and: facere non possum quin eum admirer.

Examples such as: »Ich ne do bute nempnie ham« may be enlarged by the pure infinitive's being replaced by a complete accessory sentence. — I nolde for al the metal ne for the ore . . . But I thy wife were and eek thy love (Ch. C. T. 6646).

This use has been transferred to verbs of sensual and intellectual observation, when negatived, where »but that« (I have not met with »but« alone) is totally used in the sense of »that not«. It however occurs only in the later stage of this period and that very seldom. — Peraventure gee seyen that no man schal make zou to byleven but that it is good to pleyen the passion of Crist (Serm. ag. Miracle-plays, Spp. I, b, 241).

Likewise after the verbs »to doubt« and »to deny« »but that« is used for the introduction of an accessory sentence. This use cannot be explained in the same manner as after the verbs of the preceding order by a repetition of the verb of the principal sentence after »but«. »But that« is rather the translation of the Latin »quin« after »non dubitare« (Cicero, Brutus 18, 74) and »non negare« (Liv. 40, 36). Together with these words themselves their Latin construction passed into the English as well. This explanation is almost entirely brought to a certainty by the occasional occurring of »that ne« instead of »but that« for the introduction of the accessory sentence after »to doubt« in a negative sentence: No doute that thei ne scornen God (Serm. ag. M. P., Spp. I, b, 228). No dowte that ne the puple doth more mawmetrie (ib. 240). »But that« occurs after »to doubt« and »to deny« only in the end of the 14th century. — No doute but that myraclis pleyinge is verre takyng of Goddis name in ydil (Serm. ag. M. P., Spp. I, b, 234). No dowte but that alle gode men wolden demyen the unkynde (ib. 235). No dowte but that it is dead-

ly synne (ib.). An example of »to deny« followed by »but that« is quoted in »Fiedler und Sachs, Engl. Gr.: Chaucer, Bells Ed. VI, 229; but I had no occasion to compare this passage.

3. *With reference to an interrogative principal sentence expecting an answer in the negative.* — Hwat makeð hit iluued . . . bute hare muchele unþeaw . . . ? (H. Meidenh. p. 25). Hare confort and hare delit hwerin is hit al meast bute iflesches fulðe . . . ? (ib. p. 27). Hwat makeð us strong uorte drien derf ine Godes seruisse . . . ? Hwat, but hope of heih mede? (Anc. Riwle p. 80). What is þer in paradis Bot grasse and flure and grene ris? (E. E. Poems, ed. Furnivall, p. 156). Bot whene vnto me swylke joye bot for Jhesu? (Rolle de Hamp. p. 2). Tharefore what menys it »Oyle owtzettide es thy name »bot Jhesu es thy name (ib. p. 1). Who may forgeue synnes, but God alone? (Wycl. Mrk. 2, 7). Who rubbeth now his lippes but Absolon? (Ch. C. T. 3747).

“But” in the adversative coordination.

The transition from the exceptive to the adversative meaning is natural and easily explained inasmuch as an exception may well be called contrary to the rule. This use of »but« is not found in A. S. Yet there are instances in A. S. which serve to show the state of transition from the original exceptive to the adversative meaning: On þissum geare naes nan faereld to Rome buton twegen hlea-peres Aelfred cyng sende mid gewritum (Sax. Chr. 889). Naeron nawðer ne on Fresisc gescaepene, ne on Denisc, bute swa him selfum ðuhte þaet . . . (ib. 897). Her on þissum geare ealle þa yldestan Angel cynnes witan gefeollan aet Calne of anre upfloran, butan se halgan Dunstan arce-biscop ana aetstood uppon anum beame (ib. 978). Se here

þa aetborst . . . buton an scip þaer man ofsloh (ib. 992). In all these passages the notions of »nisi« and »sed«, partly also of »tantum« pass into each other. »But« tends still more towards the adversative meaning in the following passage: Hit nis vuhte gelîc elles on eorðan, buton svâ þes âr sâged, þât hit gegnunga from gode côme (Cædm. Gen. 681). Here indeed it so approximates to the adversative meaning that the latter would be to be admitted, were this example not entirely isolated. Mr. Grein says with respect to this passage: butan (sed?) (Bibliothek der angelsächsischen Poesie, III, p. 150).

Also in the earlier stage of O. E. »but« is very rarely found in the adversative coordination or at least its adversative character is not clearly fixed. The following passage illustrates the contiguity of the three notions »nisi«, »sed« and »tantum«, all of which enoroach upon each other: Leode nere þar nane, ne wapmen ni wifmen, buten westize paedes (Lay. I, 48). In the passage: And al hit þuncð him wel idon, bute nele he þe naeuere Euelin mid aerhðe bi-tæchen (Lay. I, 352) »but« approximates already much more to the pure adversative meaning.

The earliest »but« occurs in the adversative meaning there where it absolutely implies the negation of what precedes, meaning »on the contrary«. — Non oðer (make) wile ge (ðe turtre) more; buten one goð and one sit and hire olde lufe abit (Best. Spp. I, a, 73). I deme hit not al for doute Bot sum for cortaysye (Sir Gaw. 246). Ay lastande lufe has ouercomemyne me, noghte fer to sla me, bot for to qwykkyn me (Rolle de H. p. 2). In that chappelle syngen prestes Yndyenes noght aftir oure lawe but aftir here (Maundev. p. 80). He coveiteth noght youre caroyne, But fedeth hym al with venyson (P. Ploughm. p. 12).

Besides it is already early found in a modified mean-

ing, in order to denote a restricted opposition, which often approximates to the copulative juxtaposition of opposite assertions or notions; therefore it assimilates partly to the Greek particle »δὲ«. — Min hernde willi to the bede Bote wraththen the for ani dede Were me loth (Dame Siriz, Spp. I, a, 106). Gawan watz glad to be-gynne þose gomnez in halle, Bot þaz þe ende be heuy, haf ze no wonder (Sir Gaw. 495). Grace God gaf him here, þis lond to kepe long space, Sex and fifty zere withouten werre in grace; Bot sone afterward failed him powere (Langt. p. 213). I am bot mol and marerez mysse, Bot crystes mersy and mary and Jon, þise arn þe grounde of alle my blysse (E. E. All. P. p. 12). And that wyldernesse and desert laste the 8 journeyes. But alleweyes men fynden gode innes (Maundev. p. 34). He wolde . . . have cleped it Elya: but that name lasted not longe (ib. p. 84).

As such a modified particle of opposition »but« is efficient in the phrases »not only . . . but, but also, but eek«. In the earlier stage of O. E., where »but« does not occur in the adversative coordination, »ah (ac)« is made use of in this phrase instead of »but«: »nawt ane . . . ah« (Rel. ant. II, 6). It is only since the close of the 14th century that »but« occurs with reference to »not only«. — A prist . . . not onely shulde kepe chastite but alle othere vertues (Ser. ag. M. P. Spp. I, b, 232). And so thes myraclis pleyinge not onely reversith feith and hope, but verry charite (ib.) Nought only thou but every mighty man (Ch. C. T. 15437). ib. 5345. — Thei ben not onely contrarious to the worschippe of God . . . , but also thei ben gynnys of the devvel (Serm. ag. M. P., Spp. I, b, 230). To pristis it is uttirly forbedyn not onely to been myracle pleyere but also to heren or to seen myraclis pleyinge (ib.). — And nought oonly, that oure defaute schal be juged, but eek

that alle oure werkes schul be openly knowen (Ch. C. T. p. 187, I).

Lastly »but« is sometimes used, when the opposite thought wants real reference to the preceding one. This is the case with an interruption of the speaker by an external event or in the voluntary interruption of his own train of thoughts. — Wo was this knight, and sorrowfully he siked; But what? he may not doon al as him liked (Ch. C. T. 6495). Then begynnys to grufe to us mery chere; Bot, husband, What grownd may this be? (Town. Myst. p. 32).

This use is still more extended in passages where »but« colloquially in lively and sprightly language stands at the beginning of a speech, in the same manner as we in German make use of our »aber«. — There is already in A. S. such a passage: Pilatus ongan þâ cnihtas tô âxjenne for hvig þât folc þone Haelend svâ yfele hâfde (Ev. Nicod. 8). »For-thi, leve sone, tel thou me What thou woldest I dude for the«. »Bote leve Nelde, ful evele I fare . . .« (Dame Siriz, Spp. I, a, 108). »Seli wif, what eilleth the?« »Bote ethe mai I sory be . . .« (ib. 112). *Noe*. Wife, we are hard sted with tythynges new. *Uxor*. Bot thou were worthi be cled in Stafford blew. (Town. Myst. p. 25).

III. The use of "but" in Mod. English.

"But" as preposition.

The totally privative meaning which »but« already towards the close of the Old English period was gradually losing, has been entirely suppressed in Mod. English. It now exists only in the northern dialects under the form

of »bout«. There remains therefore only the restricted privative meaning.

The principle laid down in A. S. and O. E. for the distinction of the preposition from the conjunction is also of force in Mod. Engl.: After affirmative sentences implying the idea of generality, »but« is generally to be considered as preposition, after negative sentences always as conjunction. It is to be regarded therefore as preposition in the following instances: All but mariners plunged in the foaming brine (Sh. Temp. I, 2, 210). The earth has swallowed all my hopes but she (Sh. Rom. and Jul. I, 2, 14); here »she« is used emphatically instead of »her«; at least this seems to be the simplest explanation (cf. Mätzner, Engl. Gr. I, p. 313). All my jewels, but some one for the boy (W. Raleigh, Hr.¹⁾ 105). Able to drive all sadness but despair (Milton, P. L. IV). They . . . thought that all but savages were slaves (Dryden, Hr. 130). All but his kingly diadem he gives (Dryden, van Dal²⁾). They (the words) often lose all but their first syllables (Addison, Hr. 189). Monarch of Gods and Daemons, and all Spirits but One (Shelley, Prometh. I, 1). The boy stood on the burning deck, whence all but him had fled (F. Hemans, p. 167). Bismillah is the commencement of all the chapters of the Koran but one (quoted: Baskerv.³⁾). I can reduce all feelings but this one (Byron, Epistle to Augusta). In all points but one (Mac. I, 88). It is sacred ground for Englishmen, more sacred than all but one or two fields where their bones lie whitening (Tom Brown's sch. d. I) She pleaded every reason against the match, but the true one (Lamb.

1) Hr. = Herrig, British classical authors. 1860.

2) van Dal. = van Dalen, Engl. Grammatik in Beispielen.

3) Baskerville, English Grammar for the use of the Germans.

Tal. fr. Sh. Rom. a. Jul.). — The matter is somewhat critical in the passages containing the preposition »without«; f. i. She . . . is more than once bewildered on her journey, alone and on foot, without any guide but a blowzy peasant girl (Scott, Wav. I). Here indeed the sense of the »without any guide« is negative and nevertheless there is no option than to take »but« as preposition. We can only explain this by saying that although the sense is negative, the form is nevertheless affirmative. — Without moisture, but the excrescences of a spilt humour (Taylor, Hr. 135); here »without moisture« means »without any moisture«.

In conformity with the A. S. and O. E. there occur also in Mod. E. examples of negative sentences, in which »but« is followed by the objective case of a personal pronoun which cannot be referred to another word than »but«; f. i. There is no one to keep the child but him (Warren, van Dal.). But also here we explain the objective case in the same manner as in the two preceding periods. For although indeed the change of the objective cases with the nominative, still of frequent occurrence in the earlier stage of Mod. E. (in Shakespeare), is only rarely found in the written language of our time, yet it is still largely made use of in ordinary intercourse, and besides this use is still occasionally met with in modern writers; Of all our band . . . none can less have said or more have done than thee, Mazeppa (Byron, Mazeppa IV). Me and George should n't part in anger (Thackeray, Vanity fair, 249). No doubt therefore, we may employ this idiom for the explanation of instances such as that above quoted.

That general principle however, common to the three periods of the language is farther extended in Mod. E. towards one side, inasmuch as »but« is also used after adjectives in the superlative degree. This use has arisen from

the omission of the general notion, an exception to which is introduced by »but«. If after the superlative we supply the words »of all«, we have the complete regular use of »but«.

The greatest man in England but the king (Sh. 2 Henry VI. II, 2, 82). Pistol: Sweet knight, thou art now one of the greatest men in this realm. — Silent: By're lady, I think 'a be, but goodman Puff of Barson (Sh. 2 Henry IV. V, 3, 93). Edmund's last coat but one was in pawn (Thackeray, *van Dal.*). Who stands next but one to the count (James, *ib.*). He happened to hide himself behind the tombstone next but one to that which sheltered (Warren, *ib.*). The next day but one (Thackeray, *ib.*). On the last Tuesday but one of the half-year (Tom Brown's school-days, VII). In the next street but one (Dickens, *Christm. Car.* 5).

“But” as conjunction.

a. The complete exceptive sentence.

In A. S. and in the earlier stage of O. E., as we have seen, the real and the conditional exceptive sentences were still almost everywhere distinctly separated from each other. The cause of this was on the one hand, that »but« everywhere still bordered on its original meaning, and on the other hand the existence of distinctive inflective forms of the indicative and subjunctive moods, which distinction rendered the transition from one of the two classes into the other more difficult. In the later stage of the O. E. period however, together with the disappearing of the inflective forms and the transition of new grammatical functions, deviating more from the original meaning, to our particle, the limit, hitherto pretty exactly delineated between these two classes of exceptive sentences, was rendered more indistinct. Since the commencement of Mod. E., where the

inflective forms with the exception of a few have almost completely disappeared, where new usages of »but« have already arisen, while the germs of other ones are already visible — usages which in many ways from the sphere of the real exceptive sentence encroach upon that of the conditional one and vice versa — since the commencement of Mod. E., we say, an exact separation of the two classes, such as we have established it in the preceding periods, becomes an effective impossibility. Disregarding this distinction therefore, we now consider the exceptive sentences in general.

From the four particles and combinations of particles, we met with in O. E., the language has returned in M. E. to those two which are in use in A. S., »but« and »but that«. Only in Spenser, who generally affects the antique, »but if« occurs sometimes. — But this read, that, but if remedee thou her afford, full shortly I her dead shall see (Sp. F. Q. III, 3, 16). And now it is so utterly decayd, That any bud thereof doth scarce remaine, But-if few plants, preserv'd through heavenly ayd, In Princes Court doe hap to sproute againe (ib. IV, 8, 33).

1. *Affirmative principal sentence.*

a. "But".

It is followed mostly as well as »but that« by the indicative; only occasionally, and that more frequently in the earlier stage than afterwards, it is followed by the subjunctive, without one's always being able to adduce a reason. At the most it may be said that the subjunctive, according to its inner nature, expresses the subjective relation of the speaker to the import of what he says, sometimes giving it the character of irreality.

I am much deceived but I remember the style (Sh. L. L. L. IV, 1, 98). I'll die for't but some woman had the

ring (Sh. Merch. of V. V, 208). I would be sorry, but the fool should be as oft with your master as with my mistress (Sh. Tw. n. III, 1, 45). And but thou love me, let them find me here (Sh. Rom. II, 2, 72). — Likewise we must understand »but« in the conditional meaning 1) after »to beshrew«: Beshrew me but I do love . . . (Sh. K. John V, 4, 49). Merch. of V. II, 6, 52. 2) after »to rebuke«: The gods rebuke me but it is tidings to wash the eyes of kings (Sh. Ant. and Cl. V, 1, 27). 3) after »it shall go hard«, meaning: there must be a great obstacle if I cannot etc. That »but« is to be understood here in the sense of »if not«, results from the occurring of »it shall go hard« followed by »if« (Sh. Tam. of the Shr. IV, 4, 109). It shall go hard but I will prove it (Sh. Gentl. I, 1, 86). Merch. of V. III, 1, 75. Likewise meaning »if not« »but« is to be understood: I'll plead for you myself, but you shall have him (Sh. Tam. of the Shr. II, 1, 15). — May this glass suffocate me, but a fine girl is worth all the priestcraft in the creation (Goldsm. Vic. VII). I'll pawn my dukedom, but I take that garrison without spilling a drop of blood (Goldsm. She stoops, II). May I die by an anodyne necklace, but I had rather be an under turnkey in Newgate (Goldsm. Hr. 235). May this cup be my last, but it is the best wine I ever drunk at Pompeii (Bulwer, quoted: Koch, Engl. Gr.). Deuce take me, lady Whiffle, but I've a good mind to break ect. (Peake, Court and City, II, 1).

In conditional sentences implying an irreality there often occurs, besides the ordinary sequence of tenses, another one, which we have already met with in O. E., answering completely to the Latin construction after »nisi quod« and to the German after »nur dass«. — And, but he's something stained with, thou mightst call him a goodly person (Sh. Temp. I, 2, 414): And but infirmity hath something

seized his wished ability, he had himself ect. (Sh. W. Tale V, 1, 144). Othello I, 3, 194.

b. **“But that”**.

Completely in the manner of »but that« in the A. S. and O. E. real exceptive sentences, it occasionally occurs in Spenser; f. i. That (Damsell) was right fayre and modest of demayne, But that too oft she chaung'd her native hew (F. Q. II, 9, 40). With other writers, from Shakespeare down to our time, it is met with only in conditional sentences implying an irreality.

But that it would be double-dealing, I would you could make it another (Sh. Tw. N. V, 32). But that the Earl his flight had ta'en, The vassals there their Lord had slain (Scott, L. Minstr. 4, 10). — (He) had come along with me but that his mistress did hold his eyes locked (Sh. Gentl. II, 4, 88). The sky would pour down stinking pitch, but that the sea dashes the fire out (Sh. Temp. I, 2, 4). Merry W. IV, 5, 20. As you like it I, 2, 259. At every jest you laugh aloud As now you would have done by me But that I barred your raillery (Butl. Hudibr. III, 1, 1420). In vain it were to speak anything of God but that by reason men are able somewhat to judge of what they hear (Hooker, Hr. 133). (He) had doubtless made an end to them himself, but that he fell into one of his fits (Bunyan, Hr. 160). I liked her, would have marry'd her But that it pleased her father to refuse me (Rowe, Fair Penit. I, 1). I could tell your Ladyship something, but that I am afraid it would offend you (Fielding, Hr. Gr.¹⁾). Some of the debtors would have perished for want, but that they were delivered by the generosity of the criminals themselves (Bulwer,

1) Hr. Gr. = Wagner's engl. Grammatik, neu bearbeitet von Herrig.

ib.). — Here we live in an old crumbling mansion that looks for all the world like an inn, but that we never see company (Goldsm. She stoops I).

2. *Negative principal sentence.*

a. "But".

Used in the pure conditional sentence it is still sometimes to be found in Shakespeare, afterwards however but seldom. — Ne'er may I look on day, but she tells to your highness simple truth (Sh. C. of Err. V, 211). And, but she spoke it dying, I would not believe her (Sh. Cymb. V, 4, 41). Sh. 2 Henry VI. IV, 7, 128. And but I loved to drive the deer, More than to guide the labouring steer, I had not dwelt an outcast here (Scott, Hr. 413).

»But« is much more frequently found more or less completely passing into the meaning of the Latin »quin«. The accessory sentence either expresses an accompanying circumstance, or it has the character of a consecutive sentence. The negative may be replaced by »scarce«, »scarcely«, »seldom«. — He had not been there pissing while, but all the chamber smelt him (Sh. Gentl. IV, 4, 21). A man cannot steal, but it (the conscience) accuseth him; he cannot swear, but it checks him (Sh. Rich. III. I, 4, 139). There was never yet fair woman but she made mouths in a glass (Sh. Lear III, 2, 36). There's scarce a maid westward but she sings it (Sh. W. Tale IV, 4, 296). For there is no man that imparteth his joy to his friend, but he joyeth the more; and no man that imparteth his grief to his friend, but he grieveth the less (Fr. Bacon, Hr. 111). I never sit thus but I think of the two lovers so sweetly described by Mr. Gay (Goldsm. Vic. VIII). Not a beech's more beautiful green But a sweet-brier entwines it around . . . Not a brook that is limpid and clear, But it glitters with fishes of gold (Shenstone, Hr. 317). Not a shrub

that I heard her admire, But I hasted and planted it there (ib. Hr. 318). He never played a game but he lost it or engaged in a conspiracy but't was certain to end in defect (Thackeray, van Dal.). There's scarce any matter of duty but it concerns them both alike (Irving, Hr. Gr.). I could scarce have a friend to Hackton but they counted the bottles drunk at my table (Thackeray, van Dal.). It never rains but it pours (Schmidt, E. Gr.¹⁾). — »But« transferred to the temporal sphere: There had she not been long but she became a joyful mother (Sh. Com. of Er. I, 1, 50). Scarce had I left my father but I met him Borne on the shield of his surviving soldiers (Addison, Cato IV, 4). Blount was not as yet returned . . ., but Raleigh came forth (Scott, Hr. Gr.).

A substantive notion of the principal sentence is not repeated as the subject of the accessory sentence. — Of all which there is none but hath some mixture (Spenser, A view of the pr. st. of Irel.). There 's nothing situate under heavens eye But has his bound in earth, in sea, in sky (Sh. C. of Err. II, 1, 17). There's not a man I meet but doth salute me (Sh. ib. IV, 3, 1). Sh. 2 Henry IV. I, 2, 182. Not a pine in my grove is there seen, But with tendrils of woodbine is bound (Shenstone, Hr. 317). There were none of the Grograms but could tell a story (Goldsm. Hr. Gr.). There is scarce any man but will condescend in the meanest manner to flatter himself (Fielding, Hr. Gr.). Nor one of all the race was known. But prized its weal above their own (Scott, Hr. 412). There breathes no clansman in thy line But would have given his life for thine (Scott, van Dal.). There is not a house-maid but dreams of wedding-favour (Irv., Hr. Gr.). There is sel-

1) J. Schmidt, Grammatik der engl. Sprache.

dom one of them but has her love-cares and love-secrets (Irv., *ib.*). There is not an honest man but looks on thee as a knave (Mac. II, 65).

Sometimes the verb »to be« is omitted in the principal sentence and »but« together with the negative is, as it were, a formula, expressing a strong affirmation. — No bird but did her shrill notes sweetly sing; No song but did containe a lovely ditt (Spenser. F. Q. II, 6, 73). Not a soul but felt a fever (Sh. Temp. I, 2, 209). Not a holiday fool there but would give a piece of silver (*ib.* II, 2, 30). No voice but well could join Melodious part (Milton, P. L. III). Scarcely a family in the neighbourhood but incurred our suspicions (Goldsm. Vic. XV). Nor hill nor brook, we passed along But had its legend and its song (Scott, *van Dal.*). Not a city but has an ample share of them (Irv. Sk. B. p. 2). Not one of them but was persuaded that ect. (*ib.* p. 347). Not an author . . . but was canvassed and criticised (Disraeli, *Coningsby* VII, 2).

Sometimes a substantive notion of the principal sentence is not repeated as the object of the accessory sentence. — No jutty, frieze . . . but this bird hath made his pendent bed (Sh. Macb. I, 6, 7). No meed but he repays sevenfold (Sh. Tim. of Ath. I, 1, 288). Not a celebrated beauty but he has laid siege to (Irv. Br. H. Bachelors).

The use of »but« in order to deute the effect of the negative degree has maintained itself in Mod. E.; but it does not occur frequently. — Ne was there man so stroug, but he downe bore; Ne woman yet so faire, but he her brought Unto his bay (Sp. F. Q. IV, 8, 48). Not so dull but she can learn (Sh. Merch. of V. III, 2, 164). Nor gates of steal so strong but time decays (Sh. Sonn. 65, 8). Sh. Rich. II. V, 3. Nothing (can be) so very hard but I could bear it (Rowe, *Fair Penit.* I, 1). No knight in Cum-

berland so good, But William may count with him kin and blood (Scott, L. Minstr. IV, 26).

b. "But that".

It occurs in the same cases as »but«; only it is not found without a subject. It is however met with much more rarely.

Instead of »but that« we sometimes find »but what«, a peculiarity which we have met with already in the later stage of O. E. in the conditional sentence. Also in other cases »but what« has stolen into the language instead of »but that«.

»But that« in conditional sentences: I have not much importuned you; Nor now I had, but that I am bound to Persia (Sh. C. of Err. IV, 1, 3). I would never have fled But that they left me 'midst my ennemies (Sh. 1 Henry VI. I, 2, 23). Nor would I employ you upon the present commission, but that I know no one so trustworthy as yourself (Ainsw. Saint James's II, 3). That gold should not redeem! It had not now redeem'd a single hour; But that I know him fetter'd, in my power (Byron, Corsair III, 5). — It shall go hard but what I shall find something to suit you (Bulwer, van Dal.).

In the meaning of »quin«: No man can go into another man's howse . . . but that he is endammaged to the Statute of treason (Spenser, a view ect.). So that no time nor reason could arize, But that the same could one of theese comprize (Spenser, F. Q. II, 9, 49). — He never liked man, woman, or beast, but what she was sure to be jealous of it (Thackeray, van Dal.). No one ever withstood him, but what some mischance fell upon him (James, van Dal.). Not a day, indeed passed but what he held long conversations with my father (Bulwer, ib.).

»But that« is not found without a subject; »but what« however, when used instead of »but that« occurs occasio-

nally without one. — I hope there is no dissatisfied person, but what is content (Scheridan, *Rivals* V, 3). There is no question whatsoever but what has some defenders and protectors (Baskerv.). — With omission of the verb in the principal sentence: He observed that no virtue was able to resist his arts and assiduity, and that scarcely a farmer's daughter within ten miles, but what had found him successful and faithless (Goldsm. *Vic.* III).

»But that« referring to »so«: They were not so clensed, but that they had noe pure drop of Spanish blood no more of Romaine, noe of Scythian (Spenser, a view ect.). I am not yet so low but that my nails can reach unto thine eyes (Sh. *Mids.* III, 2, 298). Fiction cannot move so much, but that the attention may be easily transferred (Johnson, *Hr.* 267). Contempt had not so kept my anger to my husband, but that hatred rose again on this occasion (Fielding, *Hr. Gr.*). The walls were not so completely destroyed but that Dolph could distinguish some traces of the scene of his childhood (Irv., Koch, *Engl. Gr.*). The fog was not so thick but that I could see the lofty tower in the distance (Baskerv.). I was not so young when my father died but that I perfectly remember him (Byron, *Convers.*). Nothing could be so pure or so heroic but that it became foul and ignoble by transfusion through those foul and ignoble minds (Schmidt *E. Gr.*). Scrooge was not so dreadfully cut up by the sad event, but that he was an excellent man of business (Dickens, *Chr. Car.* I). — In the same way »but that« is used after »such« in the following passage: Iones had not such implicit faith in his guides, but that on their arrival at a village he enquired whether they were on the road to Bristol (Fielding, *Hr. Gr.*).

For denying the effect of the negative degree »but that« is in modern writers far more frequently found than »but«,

which, predominating at the earlier stage of Mod. E., is now almost obsolete.

»But«: I am myself not so dull to beauty but what in earlier youth I may have employed philters and potions in my own behalf (Bulwer, Hr. Gr.). Her needle is not so absolutely perfect, but what my superintendence is advisable (Scott, Kenilw. VI). The postboy is not so weary but what he can wistle (Brown¹⁾).

3. *Interrogative principal sentence* expecting an answer in the negative. — Here we only find »but«.

As for »but« in pure conditional sentences, no example has occurred to me.

»But« = quin: Can you not hate me, but you must join in souls to mock me too? (Sh. Mids. III, 2, 250). For who lived king but I could dig his grave? (Sh. 3 Henry VI. V, 2, 21). Who sees his true love in her naked bed but his other agents aim at like delight? (Sh. Ven. and Adon. 399). Can I not mountain-maiden spy, But she must bear the Douglas-eye? Can I not view a Highland-brand But it must match the Douglas-hand? Can I not frame a fever'd dream, But still the Douglas is the theme (Scott, Hr. 402).

The subject after »but« is wanting: Whe finds the heifer dead and bleeding fresh And sees fast by a butcher with an axe, But will suspect 'twas he that made the slaughter? Who finds the partridge in the puttock's nest, But may imagine how the bird was dead . . .? (Sh. 2 Henry VI. III, 2, 188). — At the same time omission of »to be« in the principal sentence: Which of you but is four Volsces? (Sh. Coriol. I, 6, 78). Who but felt of late, . . . With what compulsion and laborious flight We sunk thus

1) Brown, The Grammar of English Grammars.

low? (Milton, P. L. II). Who but rather turns To Heav'n's broad fire his unconstrained view, Than to the glimm'ring of a waxen flame? (Akenside, Hr. 317). Who but would deem their bosoms burnt anew with thy unquenched beam, lost Liberty? (Byron, Hr. Gr.). And who that recollects young years and loves but would much rather sigh like his son, than cough like his grandfather? (Byron, ib.).

The object after »but« is omitted: What should he see but mightily he noted? (Sh. Lucr. 414). What should it be that he respects in her But I can make respective in myself? (Sh. Gentl. IV, 4, 199). What is in Silvia's face, but I may spy More fresh in Julia's with a constant eye? (Sh. Gentl. V, 4, 114). — At the same time omission of »to be« in the principal sentence: What towns of any moment but we have? (Sh. 1 Henry VI. I, 2, 6).

»But« referring to »so«: Where's the distance throws me back so far, but I may boldly speak? (Otway, Ven. pres. I, 1). — Omission of »to be« in the principal sentence and at the same time omission of the subject after »but«: For what so strong, But, wanting rest, will also want of might? (Spenser, F. Q. I, 1, 32). What wax so frozen but dissolves with tempering and yields at last to every light impression? (Sh. Ven. and Adon. 565).

b. The elliptical use of "but".

1. *Affirmative principal sentence.*

»But« is to be regarded as conjunction and not as preposition in the following instances: I do not think, So fair an outward and such stuff within, Endows a man but he (Sh. Cymb. I, 1, 22); »he« is here used emphatically instead of him (Delius); likewise in: That I kiss aught but he (ib. II, 3, 153). As for the »studied ambiguity« in Sh. Hamlet. II, 2, 287 cf. Abbott, Shakespearian Grammar

§ 127. I'm sure (he) would wish to see me married to anybody but himself (Goldsm. She stoops I).

We here have to mention the peculiar use of »but« in the following passage: I should sin to think but nobly of my grandmother (Sh. Temp. I, 2, 119), where »but« does not mean »only«, as it would seem at first sight, but as it results from the context, »otherwise than«, and is to be explained by the omission of something as »in any manner«.

Efficacious as conjunction »but« is also to be considered in the phrase »all but«, turned almost into a formula; likewise when »but« is followed by the preposition »for« and (seldom) »from«. As for »all but« we must discriminate between its ancient and its modern meaning; for in the earlier stage of M. E. it had another meaning than that of our own time; f. i. That Henry's death, my lovely Edward's death, this kingdom's loss could (Delius: should) all but answer for that peevish brat (Sh. Rich. III. I, 3, 194); this means: That Henry's death ect. could do every thing, except they could not answer for ect.; that means: could not however. Another example: Let what is here contain'd (in a letter) relish of love, Of my lord's health, of his content, . . . of his content, all but in that! (Sh. Cymb. III, 2, 30). Here the matter is somewhat different, »all« being used here adverbially, meaning«in every respect»; the use is not unlike the Latin »accusativus graecus« or so called »adverbial accusative«. — In our time however »all but« has passed into the meaning of »almost«; f. i. The fine arts were all but proscribed (Mac. I, 80); this means: the fine arts were despised, disdained, suppressed ect., in short all you can imagine, except that they were not directly proscribed; thence the sense »almost«.

When breath was all but flown (Scott, Waterl. VII).

The fortune was all but spent (Thackeray, *van Dal.*). The amalgamation of the races was all but complete (Mac. I, 17). He believed that this was a premeditated scene to find a pretence for breaking off an engagement that was already all but concluded (W. Godwin, *Caleb Williams II*). While in these passages the meaning of »all« and »but« is still discernable, there has arisen by a forgetfulness of the original sense of the two words, as it were, a compound word with the above meaning, which is made use of without respect to its origin. — Two dogs all but won that desperate game (Scott, *Hr.* 397). None must know what idle dream . . . all but gave Thy monarch's life to mountain-glaive (Scott, *Hr.* 417). Amidst the all but universal joy of the country (Brougham, *Historical Sketches of Statesmen*, I, 273). They had all but forced him to make war with France (Mac. I, 237). So he was all but forbidden the house (Kingsley, *Yeast X*). The hot blood that rose to my throat all but stifled me at the thought (Mrs. Gore, *Castles in the air III*).

Also the ancient meaning of »all but« is still met with in modern writers, but indeed very rarely. — Achilles, who was invulnerable all but the heel (Th. Hood, *Tylney Hall XX*).

»But for«. — Methinks they are such a gentle nation that, but for the mountain of mad flesh, that claims marriage of me, I could find in my heart to stay here still and turn witch (Sh. *C. of Err.* IV, 4, 157). O, but for my love day would turn to night (Sh. *L. L. L.* IV, 3, 233). My body . . . which but for him that has your husband's ring, Had quite miscarried (Sh. *Merch. of V. V*, 248). And in their rage such signs of rage thei bear, As, but for loss of Nestor's golden words, It seem'd they would debate with angry swords (Sh. *Lucr.* 1420). Woman, happy but for

me (Sh. C. of Err. I, 1, 38). I would have proceeded, but for the interruption of a servant (Goldsm. Vic. V). The task would have been more difficult but for our recent calamity (Goldsm., Hr. Gr.). She might have succeeded but for the interposition of Sir Clement (Burney, *ib.*). But for a strange mishap my sword had revenged all our injuries (Scott, *ib.*). He would have put me into the hands of the Prince of Orange, but for God's special providence (Mac. III, 323).

The verb may also stand in the indicative: She's well indeed but for two things (Sh. All's well II, 4, 48). That makes himself, but for our honour therein, Unworthy thee (Sh. W. Tale IV, 4, 447). The fellow but for his unaccountable bashfulness, is pretty well (Goldsm. van Dal.). In these passages »but for« is used almost in the sense of »apart from«.

In the same manner and with the same meaning we find »but« joined to »from«; but this phrase it but rarely met with. — Far less than this is shocking in a race Most wretched, but from streams of mutual love; And uncreated, but for love divine (Young, N. Th. 3, 205).

»But for« occurs also in negative sentences (we anticipate this use here). — These mine eyes but for thy piteous lips, no more had seen (Sh. Ven. and Adon. 504). The means of your deliverance, Which but for Hastings' death I had not gain'd (Rowe, J. Shore 5, 1). The room was so very much crowded, that, but for the uncommon assiduity of Sir Clement, we should not have been able to procure a box (Burney, Hr. Gr.). Where but for him they had not dined (Bulwer, *ib.*). — The Science of Philology could scarcely have been possible but for the fortunate discovery of Sanskrit in last century (Spalding, Hist. of Engl. Lit. p. 440). — »But from« in a negative sentence: Nor should

I have taken this trouble but from some opinion of your good sense (Fielding, Hr. Gr.).

2. *Negative principal sentence.*

Nothing was given to King Henry . . . but onely the bare name of a King (Spenser, A view ect.). Be except to no sight but thine and mine (Sh. Temp. I, 2, 302). I have done nothing but in care of thee (ib. I, 2, 16). Aged custom, but by your voices, will not so permit me (Sh. Coriol. II, 3, 177). — As to the explanation of some peculiar instances of the elliptical use of »but« in Shakespeare, such as: K. John III, 1, 92; Tim. of Ath. I. 1, 107; Rich. III. I, 3, 214, cf. Abbott, Sh. Gr. § 127 and § 385. — Entertained by none but cowards (Massinger, Hr. 100). No man commandeth in the King's presence, but by the King's direction (Raleigh, Hr. 104). No receipt openeth the heart but a true friend (Bacon, Hr. 110). None but the brave deserves the fair (Dryden, Hr. 129). English poetry . . . is nothing at present but a combination of luxuriant images (Goldsm. Vic. VIII). He will not return but renowned (Macph., Hr. 322). It is thy father, O Morar! the father of no son but thee (Macph., Hr. 323). For they don't choose anybody should have a character but themselves (Sheridan, Sch. f. Sc. II, 1). Which blooms nowhere but in Paradise (Moore, Lala Rookh, Parad. and Peri). She has no idea of poverty but in the abstract (Irv. Sk. B. p. 22). That he should show favour to none but Whigs (Mac. IV, 12).

»But« may be followed by a complete accessory sentence, introduced by »that«. — There is no news but that he writes (Sh. Gentl. I, 3, 56). Your subjects, Sir, wish for nothing, but that you should distinguish between the conduct ect. (Junius, Hr. 294), T'was nothing but that she

could not bear to hear Charles reflected on (Sheridan, Sch. f. Sc. I, 1).

»But« after negative comparatives. — A man that apprehends death no more dreadfully but as a drunken sleep (Sh. Meas. f. M. IV, 2, 150). These poor informal women are no more but instruments of some more mightier member (Sh. ib. V, 237). They would have no more discretion but to hang us (Sh. Mids. I, 2, 83). Thou knowest no less but all (Sh. Tw. N. I, 4, 13). With no worse nor better guard but with a knave (Sh. Oth. I, 1, 126). They cherish it (the virtue) to make it stay there; and yet it will no more but abide (Sh. W. T. IV, 3, 99). He knows not what to do with it (the world); he can use no more, but according to the capacities of a man . . . (Taylor, Hr. 137). In our time this use is quite obsolete. — »But« followed by a substantive sentence, introduced by »that«: It (my purpose) is no more But that your daughter, ere she seems as won, Desires the ring (Sh. All's well III, 7, 32).

»But« referring to the comparative »sooner«, preceded by »no« and being followed by a complete accessory sentence, is used to denote simultaneousness or immediate consequence of two actions. — No sooner sayd, but streight he after sent His yron page (Spenser, F. Q. V, 1, 20). No sooner had this painful wombe brought foorth His eldest sonne . . . But straight he chargde a trustie man of his To beare the childe into a desert wood (Gascoygne, Jocasta I, 1). The which no sooner had his prowess confirmed, But like a man he died (Sh. Macb. V, 8, 42). Which they shall have no sooner achieved but we'll set upon them (Sh. 1 Henry IV. I, 2, 193). The breath no sooner left his father's body, But that his wildness . . . Seem'd to die too (Sh. Henry V. I, 1, 25). In the last instance »but that« is remarkable, which does not occur after »no sooner« else-

where. No sooner she th'advantage found but in she flew (Butl. Hudibr. Hr. 128). This extraordinary dialogue was no sooner ended but he began to launch out into a long dissertation upon the affairs of the north (Addison, Hr. 186). The false varlet no sooner saw me falling to work but he sent word (Addison, Hr. 188). My friend had no sooner taken up him my short face, but he made so grotesque a figure, that ect. (Addison, Hr. 193). No sooner had the Almighty ceased, but all The multitude of angels . . . heaven rung With jubilee (Milton, P. L. III). He was therefore no sooner discharged out of the custody of physis, but he thought of fulfilling his engagement (Fielding, Tom Jones VI, 3). — »No sooner but« is very predominant in the earlier stage of M. E., down to the beginning of the 18th century; during this time »no sooner than« is only rarely met with; still in Addison we almost always find »no sooner but«. Since the first half of the 18th century »no sooner than« begins to predominate, so that already in Swift, Fielding, Smollet, Robertson it is almost exclusively in use. In our time »no sooner but« seems hardly to occur.

»But« after »other« in a negative sentence. — I think it be no other but e'en so (Sh. Haml. I, 1, 108). The duke knows him for no other but a poor officer of mine (Sh. All's well IV, 3, 225) . . . who know no other good but indulgere genio (Sidney, Hr. 103). With no other purposes but to rally him (Tatler 241). Incapable . . . of any other sentiments but those of pity or admiration (Robertson, Hr. 260). I wish no other here knew you but myself (Fielding, Tom Jones VIII, 5). I desire no other reward but the pleasure of having served my friend (Goldsm. Hr. Gr.). I observed that no other motive but their welfare could induce me to this (Goldsm. ib.). They had no

other source of mirth, but what could be derived from ridicule (Goldsm. *ib.*). No other but such a one (Coler. *Picc.* I, 4). No other repair but this (Lamb *Tal. fr. Sh.*).

»But« after »else« in a negative sentence: As if Religion were intended for nothing else but to be mended (Butler, *Hudibr. Chamb.*¹⁾ I, 364). Glory is nothing else but the shadow of virtue (Steele, *Hr.* 183). If we examine the idea of what we call so, we shall find it to be nothing else but an imitation (*Spectator* 169). Being nothing else but a parcel of wax (Montague, *Hr.* 286). — In the following passage: My brother now . . . bid adieu . . . to every thing else but his dog and gun (Fielding, *Hr.* 213), where after an affirmative sentence »else« is followed by »but«, the latter is not to be considered as conjunction, but as preposition referring to »every thing«.

In our time »but« after »other« as well as »else« has been replaced almost throughout by »than«.

»But« without a negative having the meaning »only, merely«. — His threatening was but vaine (Spenser, *F. Q. I.*, 2, 2). Emperors and kings are but obeyed in their provinces (Marlowe, *Faustus*). You but waste your words (*Sh. Meas. f. M.* II, 2, 72). He who shall speak for her is afar of guilty but that he speaks (*Sh. W. Tale* II, 1, 105), i. e. simply in that he speaks, merely for speaking. The iron . . . would . . . consume away in rust, But for containing fire to harm mine eye (*Sh. K. John* IV, 1, 61). Were you a woman, youth, I should woo hard, but be your groom (*Sh. Cymb.* III, 6, 70). For the explanation of this passage we follow Mr. Delius: I should woo ardently, for to be only your servant. The explanation given by Mr. Abbott, who supposes a confusion between »if I could not be your

1) Chambers, *Cyclopaedia of English Literature*.

groom otherwise« and »but in any case I would be your groom« and an additional confusion arising from the phrase: »It would go hard with me but«, seems to be itself too much confusion. Where Brutus may but find it (Sh. Caesar I, 3, 144) i. e. no other than Brutus, according to Mr. Delius; whereas Mr. Abbott explains »cannot but find it«. For the explanation of Sh. W. Tale IV, 4, 169 and Hamlet V, 2, 120, where »but« likewise seems to mean »only«, cf. Abbott, Sh. Gr. § 128. I am but dust (Raleigh, Hr. 105). The tallest pine . . . were but a wand (Milton, P. L. I). I had but six (children) (Goldsm. Vic. I). Description would but beggar (ib. XI). You need but gaze on Ellen's eye (Scott, Hr. 399). The next but swept a lone hill-side (Scott, Hr. 405). These eyes but close to look within (Byron Manfred I, 1). The disgrace belongs to but a small part of the puritan party (Mac. III, 56).

When »but« refers to a verb, the auxiliary verb »to do« is very frequently made use of. This use has resulted from the origin of »but« above explained. — Thou didst but jest (Sh. K. John III, 1, 16). Thou didst but say 't is so (ib. III, 1, 6). They do but trifle with themselves, that do labour in past matters (Bacon, Hr. 107). I did but jest (Scott, Ivanhoe p. 77). He did but afford me the hospitality which I would have compelled from him, if he had refused it (ib. 192). They do but drive him (Irv. Sk. B. p. 14). — We remark that the verb »to jest«, when joined to »but«, is never found without the auxiliary verb »to do«,

A forgetfulness of the original meaning of »but« has led to the redundant use of »but« in »but only«, »but merely«. — He only lived but till he was a man (Sh. Macb. V, 8, 40). My lord, your son had only but the corpse (Sh. 2 Henry IV. I, 1, 192). (This man) thought characters and words merely but art (Sh. Lov. Compl. 174). I would live

a little longer . . . but only To thank you for your tender love (Beaum. and Fl., Hr. 98). He had but only me (Goldsm. Vic. VIII).

»But« with reference to adverbs and adverbial expressions of time. — Begin these birds but to couple now? (Sh. Mids. IV, 1, 145), i. e. not earlier than now. It was but last week (Goldsm. Good nat. man I). When here, but three days since, I came (Scott, Hr. 403). — Sometimes »but« joined to an adverb of time has an attenuated meaning (we anticipate this use here), the emphasis not being laid on »but«, but on the adverb; f. i. That catch you taught me but erewhile (Sh. Temp. III, 2, 127). Even at this word she hears a merry horn Whereat she leaps that was but late forlorn (Sh. Ven. and Adon. 1025). Remarkable is the use of »but now«; f. i. Whose whiteness so became them, as if but now they waxed pale for woe (Sh. Gentl. III, 1, 228), i. e. just at this moment. Ven. and Adon. 347. — »But now« is used in the earlier stage of Mod. E. also of things past, meaning: the least possible time since, a moment ago; we now use »just now« in this case, with the emphasis on the »just«. They but now who seem'd In bigness to surpass earth's giant sons, Now less than smallest dwarfs in narrow room Throng numberless (Milton, P. L. I). They that but now for honour and for plate Made the sea blush with blood, resign their hate (Waller, in Webster's Dict.). — Both different meanings of »but now« occur in the following passage: But now I was the lord Of this fair mansion, . . . and even now, but now This house, these servants and this same myself Are yours (Sh. Merch. of V. III, 2, 171). — »But even now« is likewise used in the sense: a moment ago. And, in a word, but even now worth this, And now worth nothing (Sh.

Merch. of V. I, 1, 35). — Gilray had but just begun to try his powers (Schmidt, E. Gr.).

Besides with adverbs of time, »but« occurs in this attenuated meaning in the same manner as the German »nur« and the French »ne . . . que« may be used. — Have you but seen a bright lily grow, Before rude hands have touch'd it? Have you marked but the fall of the snow, Before the soil hath smutch'd it! . . . O so white! O so soft! O so sweet is she! (B. Jonson, Chamb. I, 124). Were we but less indulgent to our fault . . . Our Muse would flourish (Waller, Hr. 115). Were I but free, I'd take a flight (Cowper, Hr. 307). I'd brave the eagle's tow'ring wing Might I but fly without a string (Cowper, Hr. 307). And there was but too much reason to apprehend (Mac. IV, 12). It was but too probable that ect. (Mac. IV, 12). He has but too good reasons for thinking ect. (Mac. IV, 60). — Often in optative sentences and with imperatives: Where I but where 'tis spoken (Sh. Temp. I, 2, 430). I say, but mark his gesture (Sh. Oth. IV, 1, 88). — »But« is frequently joined to the imperative of the auxiliary verb »to do«: Do you but mark, how this becomes the house (Sh. Lear II, 4, 158). Do but look (ib. IV, 6, 194). Do but look on her eyes, they do light All that love's world compriseth! Do but look on her, she is bright As love's star when it riseth! Do but mark, her forehead's smother Than words that soothe her! (B. Jonson, Chamb. I, p. 123). Do but repose a little confidence in me (Scott, Keepsake).

»But« is distinguished from its synonym »only« by its generally supposing an original negative thought, which has become affirmative only by »but«; whereas »only« is directly put into relation to an affirmative thought. The fact that in most of the cases »but« and »only« are completely equivalent and may be used indifferently, does not

at all disprove the distinction given above, resulting as it does from the origin of the words.

The peculiarity spoken of in O. E., that one of the verbs generally used as auxiliary, is used in the principal sentence as a principal verb followed by an object, whereas in the elliptical accessory sentence it is to be supplied as an auxiliary verb, occurs also in Mod. E. — Though he do nothing but rail (Sh. Tw. N. I, 5, 174). He does nothing but smile (ib. III, 4, 205). A fourth did nothing but whistle (Dickens, *van Dal.*).

We now pass to the phrase »cannot but«. — Our soul cannot but yield you forth to public thanks (Sh. Meas. f. M. V, 1, 7). I cannot but be sad (Sh. Rich. II. II, 2, 30). I could not but look on gold with contempt (Massinger, Hr. 99). Nor could I ever but hold it for a . . . sordid speech (Milton, *Chamb.* I, 417). Whose structures cannot but be very nice (Locke, Hr. 152). The person they could not but admire (Steele, Hr. 184). I could not but smile (Goldsm. Vic. III). I cannot but recollect (Johnson, Hr. 270). I could not but notice a pie (Irv. Sk. B. p. 216). The ill humour of . . . could not but be noticed by the most heedless (Mac. IV, 5).

The same inexact, vague relation of the infinitive introduced by »but« to the preceding sentence, on which the above construction is based, is observed in the impersonal »it cannot be but« and in »I cannot choose but«. — In the middle between »I cannot but« followed by an infinitive and the impersonal »it cannot be but«, followed by a complete accessory sentence, there stands the use occasionally occurring in Spenser; f. i. And though that right noble man . . . doe endeavour himself all that he may to yeeld equally justice unto all, yet can there not but great abuses lurke in soe inward and absolute a privilege (A view ect.).

»It cannot be but«: It cannot be, I find, but such a face should bear a wicked mind (Sh. *Lucr.* 1539). It cannot be but thou hast murdered him (Sh. *Mids.* III, 2, 56). It cannot be but he was murder'd here (Sh. *2 Henry VI.* III, 2, 177). It cannot be but they will do you justice (Byron, *van Dal.*). — Similarly: It cannot be but a dishonour (Milton, *Chambers* 1, 417).

»I cannot choose but«: Words that could not choose but please (Spenser, *F. Q. I.*, 1, 54). She cannot choose but love (Sh. *Ven. and Adon.* 79). That cannot choose but amaze him (Sh. *Wiv.* V, 3, 18). She cannot choose but be old (Sh. *2 Henry IV.* III, 2, 221). A voice so sweet and clear That I could not choose but hear (Longfellow I, 122). I cannot choose but weep for thee (Shelley III, 79). This cannot choose but strike confusion among the Burgundians (Scott, *Qu. Durward* 462).

A similar vague relation of the infinitive to the verb of the principal sentence is found in the following passage: I would not but have seen this letter for half I am worth (Richardson, *Sir Ch. Grandison*, London 1770, III, p. 6).

The use already met with in O. E., that the verbs of sensual and intellectual observation, when used negatively, may be followed by »but«, is expanded in Mod. E. inasmuch as this use is also extended to other verbs of a similar meaning, likewise only when negatived or used in an interrogation expecting an answer in the negative. »But« is mostly met with in this case; not rarely however we also find »but that«. — I never *heard* it before, but that it (Ireland) was always divided into fowre . . . kingdomes (Spenser, *A view* ect.). I never *saw* but Humphrey did bear him like a noble gentleman (Sh. *2 Henry VI.* I, 1, 138). I see not but you may be king of England nevertheless (Scott, *Kenilw.* 32). They *think* not but that every eye can see the

same disgrace (Sh. *Lucr.* 750). Sh. *Oth.* III, 3, 325. You cannot think but that they are quarrelling (Tom Brown's school days I). Do not *believe* but I shall do thee mischief (Sh. *Mids.* II, 1, 236). Oh! who shall believe but you misuse the reverence of your place (Sh. 2 *Henry IV.* IV, 2, 22). Your uncle must not *know* but you are dead (Sh. *K. John* IV, 1, 128). We did not know but that the crowd might be very great (Dickens, *Pict. of It., Rome*). He had no *suspicion* but that I had dined long since (Fielding, *Tom Jones* 8, 12). I cannot be *persuaded* but that marriage is one of the means of happiness (Johnson, *Rassel.* 28). He could not be persuaded but that he was etc. (Lamb, *Tal. fr. Sh.*). I can hardly persuade myself but you're alive (Dickens, *M. Chuzzlew.* 1, 2). This does not *convince* me but that marriage is one of the means of happiness (Goldsm. *Good nat. M.* 3). Yet I'll not *pledge* myself, but that those letters may furnish you, perchance, with proofs against him (Coler., *Picc.* III, 3). Father, never *dream* . . . But ill must come from ill (Shelley, *Cenci* 1, 3). I never *read* but England's kings have had large sums of gold and dowries with their wives (Sh. 2 *Henry VI.* I, 1, 128).

»But what« instead of »but that«: The countess never suspected but what the horse had been placed there to meet them by the precaution of the guide (Scott, *Hr. Gr.*). I see not but what it may benefit the man that has been pricked with a sword (Scott, *ib.*).

To expressions such as »it is impossible«, it is not probable« ect. the accessory sentence may be annexed in the same manner as to those verbs, these expressions having a similar sense. — It is impossible but that they live yet (Beaum. and Fl., *London* 1839, I, 112). It is impossible but what I shall take Cronstadt (Bulwer, *What will he* ect., III, 11). It was scarce probable but what the in-

habitants of the cavern had some mode of issuing from it otherwise than by the lake (Scott, Wav. 18). I had no idea but what the story was true. He had no information but what the men were honest (The last two instances are quoted by Mr. Brown).

Here we have also to mention the phrases »not but« and »not but that«, which are elliptically to be explained, before »not« a verb of saying being to be supplied, which »but« or »but that« depends on: I do not say but (but that) i. e. I do not mean to say that not In German and French we have similar elliptical phrases, »nicht dass nicht«, »nicht als ob nicht« and »non que . . . ne . . . pas« or »non pas que . . . ne«. — Not but they thought me worth a ransom . . . But for their own sakes and for fear They were not safe when I was there (Butl. Hudibr. II, 2, 549). Not but upon these occasions no man in England is more punctual than . . . (Sam. Foote, Chamb. I, 768). Not but your father had good qualities (Bickerstaff, Lionel Clarissa I, 1). — Pray don't desire it of me: not but that you may persuade me to any thing, sooner than any person in the world (Southerne, Oroonoko I, 1). Thus we lived several years in a state of much happiness, not but that we sometimes had those little rubs which Providence sends to enhance the value of its favours (Goldsm. Vic. I).

Instead of »not but that« we also find »not but what« made use of. — Not but what I hold it our duty never to foster into a passion (Bulwer, The Caxtons 18, 8). Not but what there were some two or three youngsters who manifested the first drawings of what is called fire and spirit (Irv. Hist. of New York III, 4).

The juxtaposition of the conditional and the indirect interrogative sentences to each other seems to be the cause

of the occurrence of »but« in negative indirect interrogative sentences, especially after »to know«. — Ne wote I but thou didst these goods bereave from rightful owner (Spenser, F. Q. II, 7, 19). Who knows yet but from this lady may proceed a gem? (Sh. Henry VIII. II, 3, 78). Who knows but that God, who made the world, may cause that Giant Despair may die (Bunyan, Hr. 161). Who knows but all the matter which he told us might be intended as a warning to us (Fielding, Schmitz, E. Gr.¹⁾). How did you know but you would cut my lining too (Sterne, Tr. Sh. 48). She knew not but some new treachery was menacing her (Irving, Schmitz, E. Gr.). Who knows but he may be at Arnwood (Capt. Marryat, The Children of the New-Forest, 1). — Also here instead of »but that« we occasionally meet with »but what«. — I did not know but what it was so (Schmitz, E. Gr.).

»But«, »but that« after the verbs of doubting and denying, when negated or used in interrogative sentences expecting an answer in the negative. — Noe doubt but some there be incorruptible (Spenser, A view ect.). Fear not but she will love you (Sh. Gentl. III, 2, 1). If you shall see Cordelia — as fear not but you shal — show her this ring (Sh. Lear III, 1, 47). Let it not be doubted but he'll come (Sh. Wiv. IV, 4, 43). I do not doubt but that my noble master will appear such as he is (Sh. Caes. IV, 2, 11). Doth any man doubt, that if there were taken out of men's mind vain opinions, flattering hopes, false valuations, imaginations as one would, and the like, but it would leave the minds of a number of men, poor shrunken things . . . ? (Bacon, Hr. 106). In this instance the blending of »that« and »but« in the resumption of the conjunction is

1) Bernhard Schmitz, Englische Grammatik. Berlin 1874.

remarkable. Yet doubt not but in valley and in plain God is as here (Milton, P. L. XI). Doubt not but that sin Will reign among them (ib. XII). I do not doubt but the comets will bear a part in this tragedy (Burnet, Hr. 144). He doubted not but such villanous arts had been made use of to destroy him (Fielding, Tom Jones 8, 5). He had no doubt but that this chum was certainly the thief (ib. 8, 11). It was no longer doubted but that she was the object that induced him to be our visitor (Goldsm. Vic. VII). He had not a doubt but this was the bedchamber of his beautiful unknown (Irving, Hr. Gr.). I doubt not but the expected pleasure of performing it was a principal motive with him (Scott, Wav. 48). — The negative may also be replaced by »little«: Be this as it may, up this river did the adventurous Hendrick proceed, little doubting but it would turn out to be the much looked for passage to China (Irv. Hist. of N. Y. 2, 1). There is very little doubt but he would have made the greatest governor of his size on record (ib. 4, 5). Making little doubt but that his instrument would be as effectual and offensive in war as was that of the Paladin Astolpho (ib. 4, 3). — »But« is also retained when the accessory sentence is turned into an infinitive: I doubt not but to fashion (Sh. Much ado II, 1, 384). I do not doubt but to hear (Sh. Mids. IV, 2, 44). I doubt not shortly but to reign sole king (Marlowe, Tamburl. I, 1). He doubted not but to overtake his Sophia before she would set out from St. Albans (Fielding, Hr. Gr.).

You will not deny but it is to be abolished (Spenser, A view etc.). I cannot deny but that anciently it was common to most (ib.). It must not be denied but I am a plain-dealing villain (Sh. Much ado I, 3, 33). I neither can nor will deny but that I know him (Sh. All's well V, 3, 167). I deny not but that it is of the greatest concern-

ment (Milton, *Chamb.* I, 416). Robin could not deny but the gentleman favoured his master (*Spectator* 398). Nor can I deny but I have an interest in being first to deliver this message (*Goldsm. Vic.* VIII).

Also here »but what« occurs instead of »but that«: I have no doubt but what riot and sedition are intended (Bulwer, Schmitz, *E. Gr.*). Never fear but what our kite shall fly as high (Bulwer, *The Caxtons* 1, 6).

Likewise other verbs and phrases implying the idea of doubting, may be followed by »but«: Wise! why, no question but he was (*Sh. M. f. M.* III, 2, 146). There is no question but the king of Spain will reform most of the abuses (Addison, *Webster's Dict.*). I question not but the design of this strange fashion is to smite more effectually their male beholders (*Spectator* 435). I question not but the surprise of the reader will here be equal to that of Jones (Fielding, *Tom Jones*, *Hr. Gr.*). I am not without hopes but by this method I shall bring some unsizeable friends of mine into shape and breath (*Tatlor* 241). It is not impossible but such a man with all his vanity and ostentation may have some real goodness in him (Schmitz, *E. Gr.*). It is not impossible but I may alter the complexion of my play (Dryden, *Webster's Dict.*). It is not impossible but I may meet him at Lady Morgan's this evening (*Baskerv.*).

»But« is used after the verbs of prevention, when these verbs, which are negative in themselves, are used without a negative, and sometimes even when they stand in interrogative sentences expecting an answer in the negative. This use has passed from the Romanic languages into the English. The negative of the accessory sentence, in Latin as well as in the Romanic languages, ought to express the negative tendency of the verb of the principal sentence;

the verb implies the negative sense, that something is not wished for. — Noe lawes, noe penaltyes can restrain them but that they doe . . . treade down . . . all both divine and human things (Spenser, A view etc.). What lets but one may enter at her window? (Sh. Gentl. III, 1, 113). What lets but he would be here (Sh. C. of Err. II, 1, 105). God defend but still I should stand so (Sh. 1 Henry IV. IV, 3, 38). In the passage: God defend, but God should go before such villains (Sh. Much ado IV, 2, 21) the context requires the sense: God must needs go before such villains. From the words however just the opposite thought results. We must suppose that there is in this speech a perversion of the thought intentionally put into the mouth of the eminent inquisitor Dogberry. — I could not lin but I must there lament (Sackville, Mirrour for Magistrates, Induction). What hinders then but that you find her out? (Addison, Cato 3, 7).

In the following passages »but« is to be explained by the omission of a verb of prevention: Have you not countermand for Claudio yet But he must die to-morrow? (Sh. M. f. M. IV, 2, 95), i. e. to hinder but, to prevent that he must die. That sòng to -night Will not go from my mind; I have much to do But to go hang my head all at one side And sing it, like poor Barbara (Sh. Oth. IV, 3, 32). Have you not wit, manners, nor honesty but to gabble like tinkers at this time of night? (Sh. Tw. N. II, 3, 95). In the two last passages it is worth attention that the accessory sentence has been turned into the infinitive as in the above instances after »to doubt«.

3. *Interrogative principal sentence.*

The elliptical accessory sentence leans towards the whole principal sentence: Is there a creature in the whole country but ourselves, that does not take a trip to town

now and then, to rub off the rest a little? (Goldsm. She stoops I). Why should every creature drink but I? (Cowley, Chamb. I, 330). Will you never love any one but me? (Dick. Pickw. 2, 20).

The elliptical accessory sentence leans however mostly towards the interrogative: What remedy is there for this evil, but to make heavy lawes (Spenser, A view etc.). Theology what is it but the science of things divine? (Hooker, Hr. 133). *Bapt.* Now, Signior Petruchio, how speed you with my daughter? *Petr.* How but well, sir? how but well? (Sh. Tam. of the Shr. II, 1, 284). For what peace will be given to us, but custody severe? (Milton, P. L. II). For whence but from the author of all ill could spring so deep a malice? (ib.). For what in worth is anything But so much money as't will bring (Butler, Hud., Chamb. I, 363). Who, but himself, ever left a throne to learn to sit in it with more grace? (Steele, Hr. 183). Who should it be but my old neighbour, the upholsterer? (Addison, Hr. 185). For who should this person be but my good friend Mr. Watson! (Fielding, Tom Jones 8, 14). For what are tithes and tricks but an imposition? (Goldsm. Vic. VII). What part then remains but to leave it to the people to determine for themselves? (Junius, Hr. 298). Away went Gilpin — who but he (Cowper, Hr. 305). What but the greatest fool would be a knave? (Wolcott, Hr. 392). What are our great political societies but mere political inquisition? (Irv. Hist. of N. Y. 3, 9). Whom should he see in their company but the hated Goneril (Lamb, Tal. fr. Sh.)

“But” in the adversative coordination.

It is in Mod. E. of every page's occurrence; we therefore restrict ourself to give a few instances.

1. “*But*” implying the absolute negation of the preced-

ing thought: (He) Ne ever would to any byway bend, But still did follow one unto the end (Spenser, F. Q. I, 1, 28). *Speed*. Are they not lamely writ? *Val*. No, boy, but as well as I can do them (Sh. Gentl. II, 1, 97). (Once in Shakespeare »but that« is used in the same sense: All this uttered With gentle breath . . . Could not take truce with the unruly spleen Of Tybalt deaf to peace, but that he tilts . . . at bold Mercutio's breast (Sh. Rom. III, 1, 163)). T'was no fantastic object but a truth (Massinger, Hr. 98). Not inclosed within the narrow warrant of her gifts, but freely ranging etc. (Sidney, Hr. 101). Not for a fine glossy surface, but such qualities as would wear well (Goldsm. Vic. I). The whole is no effusion of fancy, but a faithful transcript from the writer's heart (Irv. Sk. B. p. 17).

2. "*But*" denoting a restricted opposition: He oft finds med'cine who his grief imparts, But double griefs afflict concealing harts (Spenser, F. Q. I, 2, 34). By foul play, as thou say'st, were we heaved thence, But blessedly help hither (Sh. Temp. I, 2, 62). To vice industrious, but to nobler deeds Timorous (Milton, P. L. II). True it is that philosophy makes us wiser, but christianity makes us better men (Fielding, T. Jones 8, 13). Their professions the last evening were warm but now they were ardent (Goldsm. Vic. XI). The chief is sad, but stately (Macphers. Hr. 321). One young woman of humble dress but interesting demeanour (Irv. Sk. B. p. 9). — Sometimes »but« is strengthened by »yet«: Who perforce me led With him away, but yet could never win The Fort (Spenser, F. Q. I, 2, 25), I killed a man . . . But yet I slew him manfully in fight (Sh. Gentl. IV, 1, 28). Stones and timber grow of themselves; but yet there is no uniforme pile . . . without toil and pains (Locke, Hr. 150).

»But« in reciprocal coordination:

»Not only . . . but«: Not only with what my revenue yielded, But what my power might else exact (Sh. Temp. I, 2, 98). Not only to make a Cyrus . . . but to bestow a Cyrus upon the world (Sidney, Hr. 101). Not only my former income, but those additions (Fielding, Tom Jones 8, 9). He has not only shown human nature as it acts in real exigencies, but as it would be found in trials (Johnson, Hr. 266). Loyal to you, not only from principle, but passion (Junius, Hr. 294). He claps not only himself but his old-fashioned wife on my back (Goldsm. She stoops II). They not only forgave, but applauded him (Mac. I, 33).

»Not only . . . but also«: Not only the Common Lawe, but also the Statutes and Acts of Parliamente (Spenser, A view etc). Eteocles . . . Not onely shut his brother from the crowne, But also from his native country soyle (Gascoygne, Jocasta I, 1). A young Levite . . . might not only perform his own professional functions . . . but might also save the expense of a gardener (Mac. I, 322).

Besides these common forms of reciprocal coordination, there occur occasionally some other ones:

Not merely . . . but: The time of prosperity was to him not merely a season of barren joy, but productive of much useful improvement (H. Blair, Hr. 277). It interposes a gulf, not merely imaginary, but real, between us and our homes (Irv. Sk. B. p. 5).

Not merely . . . but also: You are depriving yourself of the comforts of her sympathy; and not merely that, but also endangering the only bond that can keep hearts together (Irv. Sk. B. p. 21).

Not only . . . but even: They don't only scorn to marry, but even to make love to any woman of a family not as illustrious as their own (Montague, Lett.).

Not only . . . but too: To whose free gift the world

does owe Not only earth, but heaven too (Butl., Ep. of Hud. 105).

Not alone . . . but: Companionous dear, Found worthy not of liberty alone, Too mean pretence, but what we more affect, Honor, dominion, glory and renown (Milton, P. L. VI).

3. "*But*" without real relation to what precedes: *Mir.* Had I not Four or five women once that tended me? *Pros.* Thou hadst, and more, Miranda. But how is it That this lives in thy mind? (Sh. Temp. I, 2, 46). Oh! hold me hard: — but, uncle etc. (Beaum. and Fl., Hr. 97). Did your pride descend from him? But let that pass. (Massinger, Hr. 99). For never was from Heaven imparted Measure of strength so great to mortal seed, As in thy wondrous actions hath been seen. But wherefore comes old Manoaah in such haste With youthful steps? (Milton, Samson Agon.). It is but an oak, Alcletha, bent over Lara's stream. But who comes along the plain? (Macph. Hr. 326). Ye towers! . . . And thou, O sad and fatal mound! . . . The dungeon, block, and nameless tomb Prepare, — for Douglas seeks his doom! — But hark! what blithe and jolly peal Makes the Franciscan steeple reel? (Scott, Hr. 407). Oh! I but thus prolong'd my words, Boasting these idle attributes, because As I approach the core of my heart's grief — But to my task (Byron, Manfr. I, 2).

Sometimes, as already in O. E., in lively and sprightly language »but« is found at the beginning of a speech: Upon my faith, Mr. N., but you have a singular species of madness (Capt. Marryat, Japhet 36).
